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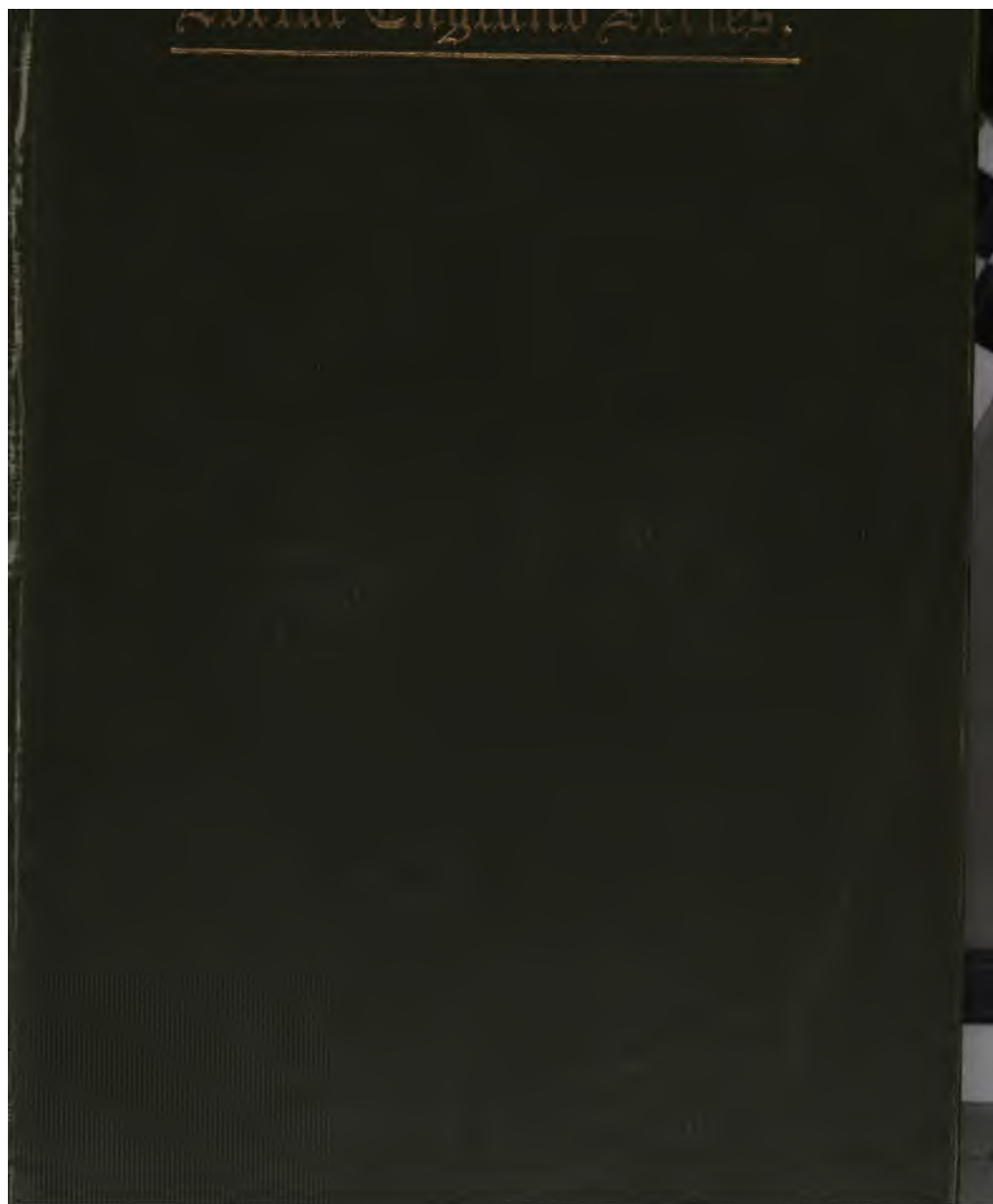
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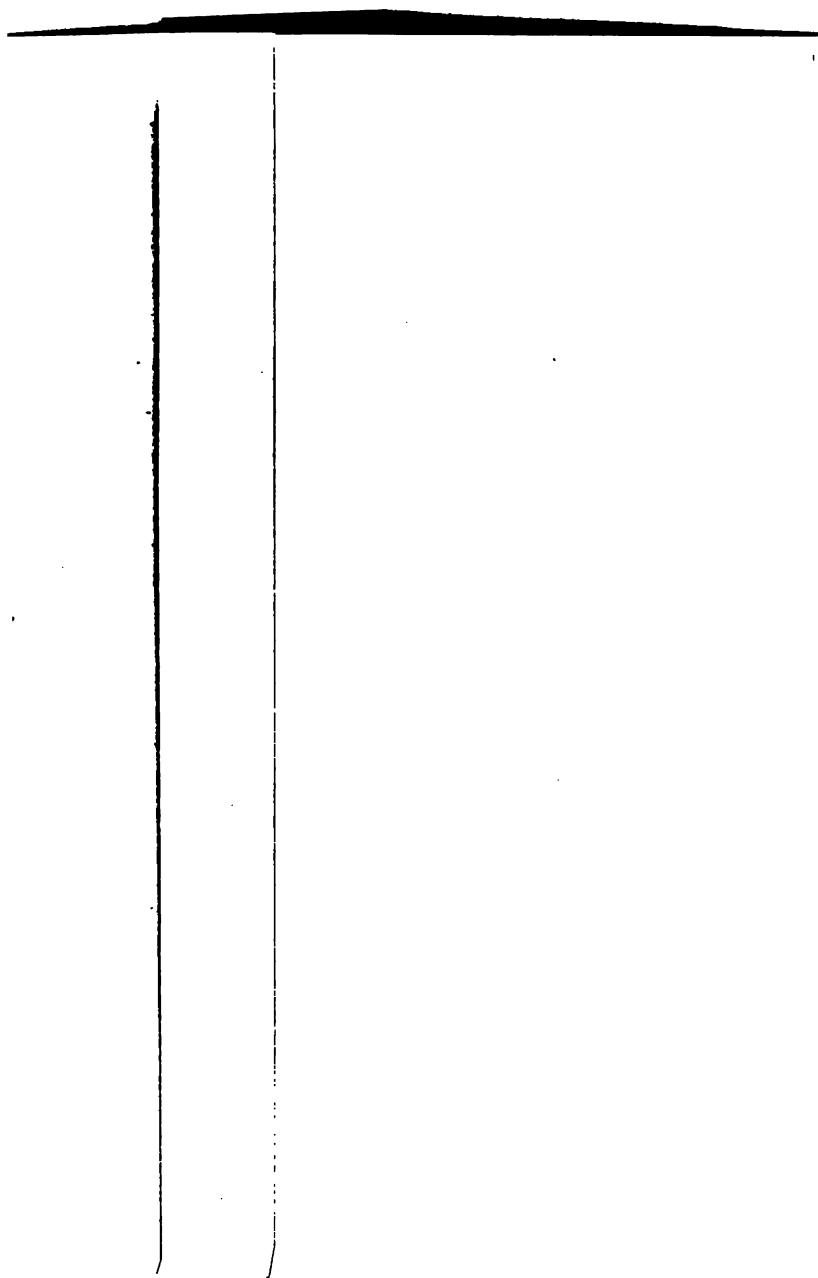
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ALIEN IMMIGRANTS TO ENGLAND

BY

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*Hon. LL.D. Edin., Hon. Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, and Fellow
and Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge; Author of "The Growth
of English Industry and Commerce," etc.*

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TO THOSE OF MY PUPILS
WHO HAVE HELPED ME TO LEARN
I DEDICATE MY PART IN THIS BOOK



EDITORIAL PREFACE

**A New
Subject.**

IN introducing an old subject with some variety of form, it is easy to be brief and at the same time clear, because the reader supplies from previous knowledge so much that is left unsaid; but in stepping quite out of the beaten track nothing perhaps but actually treading the new path can make the goal that it is intended to reach plainly visible. It is not desirable that the whole object of a new series of books written on a new plan should be capable of being condensed into a few pages; this can be done only for subjects whose scope is already well defined, where there are and have been many previous books written on the same lines, though perhaps from slightly different points of view, and in which the only novelty to be looked for is in the style of writing and in the arrangement and amount of matter.

Personality.

Undoubted as is the influence of personality upon history, the attention directed to it has hitherto been rather one-sided; the entire course of national life cannot be summed up in a few great names, and the attempt to do so is to confuse biography with history. This narrow view, besides ignoring other causes, leads to the overrating of details, and since a cause must be found somewhere, personal character becomes every-

thing. The stability of law that is seen in a large number of instances cannot be discovered by watching single lives, however exalted ; and history with no intention of discovering the condition of events becomes the sport of accident, resting in great measure for its interest on anecdote and rhetoric.

Politics. The case is not much bettered by long

accounts of acts of parliament, with summaries of debates, and numbering of divisions, and more lives of statesmen, eminent and mediocre. The details of parliament no more than the details of biographies afford sufficient data for scientific observation, if the forces of the society that surround them are omitted. Neither does the addition of military detail help much in the comprehension of the course of events ; one battle is much like another except when treated by the professional soldier or sailor, or at all events in the light of professional books ; and victories or defeats depend upon something else besides the position of the ground or the plans of the moment. It has been reserved for a naval expert of another power to point this out to the multitudinous writers of the history of the great naval power of the world.

**Social
Questions.**

Social questions are to-day taking the foremost place in public interest ; the power behind the statesman is seen to be greater in controlling contemporary history than the eloquence or experience of any single man. We see this to be so now, and our knowledge of the present suggests the question whether it has not always been so ; and whether the life of society,

though it has not had the same comparative weight, has not always been a more important factor than the life of the individual.

The "Social
England"
Series.

The "Social England" series rests upon the conviction that it is possible to make a successful attempt to give an account, not merely of politics and wars, but also of religion, commerce, art, literature, law, science, agriculture, and all that follows from their inclusion, and that without a due knowledge of the last we have no real explanation of any of the number.

Not as an
Appendix.

But the causes that direct the course of events will become no clearer if to one third politics and one third wars we add another third consisting of small portions of other subjects, side by side, but yet apart from one another.

The Central
Idea.

The central idea is that the greatness or weakness of a nation does not depend on the greatness or weakness of any one man or body of men, and that the odd millions have always had their part to play. To understand how great that was and is, we must understand the way in which they spent their lives, what they really cared for, what they fought for, and in a word what they lived for. To leave out nine-tenths of the national life, and to call the rest a history of the nation, is misleading; it is so misleading that, treated in this mutilated manner, history has no pretension to be a science: it becomes a ponderous chronicle, full of details which, in the absence of any other guiding principle, are held together by chronology. Writers of great name and

power escape from this limitation, which, however, holds sway for the most part in the books that reach the great majority of readers, that is those who have not time to read an epoch in several volumes.

The Carrying Out of the Idea. It is not necessary in seeing a famous town to visit every public building and private house, and so for the carrying out of this plan it has been determined that adequate treatment can be secured of certain subjects in a series of books that should be popular, not only in style, but also in the demands they make upon the reader's time.

Specialists. It would be useless for any one writer to pretend to accomplish this task, though when the way is cleared a social history connecting more closely and summarising the work of all the contributors will be possible; but at present it is intended to ask each of them to bring his special knowledge to bear upon the explanation of social life and in treating his portion of the work to look at original authorities to see not merely what light they throw on his own branch separately, but how they affect its conception considered in relation to the whole, that is to the development of the life of the English people.

The Possible Limits of the Series. To bring the series to its completion will need the services of many writers. A few of the number of books which might be suggested may be mentioned. The influence upon thought of geographical discovery, of commerce, and of science would form three volumes. The part inventions have played, the main changes in political theories and, perhaps less

commonplace, the main changes in English thought upon great topics, such as the social position of women, of children, and of the church, the treatment of the indigent poor and of the criminal, need all to be studied. The soldier, the sailor, the lawyer, the physician, have still to be written of; the conception of the duties of the noble or the statesman, not in the story of one man's life, but in a general theory illustrated from the lives of many men, has still to be formulated; the wide range of subjects connected with law—the story of crime, laws made in class interest, laws for the protection of trade and for the regulation of industry—are all to be found in the statutes at large. A more comprehensive sketch of the scope of the series should be found in an introductory volume.

**Works already
Arranged for.** But, apart from the probable extension of the series, sufficient works have already been arranged for to describe some leading features of English social life, and to point out some of the numerous highways which lead to a great centre, passing through different provinces, which all have their local colour, but the lives of whose inhabitants need also to be known if we are to understand the country as a whole, and not merely the court and parliament of the capital.

**The King's
Place.** The king is the centre of this life when war and justice form the chief reason for the loose federation of communities; not merely does he give protection on the frontiers, but among his own subjects it is more and more his duty to enforce peace, and we have to see how step by step the local court or franchise is merged in the strengthening of sovereign justice.

What exactly was the ideal of knighthood?
 Chivalry. How far did it imply an acquaintance with the learning of the day and with foreign countries? Did it strengthen the feeling of pity for the weak, or purify the love for women? In what are wrongly called the dark ages, was there a vast society of men of culture, who spread over large parts of Northern Europe, to whom we owe the first-fruits of modern literature, the troubadours, who first came from Provence?

In the manor is to be found the story of
 The Manor. early village life, of domestic manufactures, of the system of agriculture and of the simplest administration of justice, a system the remains of which last till to-day; while a sketch of the history of
 The Working-man. the working-classes helps to complete the picture, and at the same time to place a wider one beside it, to show especially how wages have been regulated, the condition under which the poor have lived, and to see what on the whole is the part they have played in history.

Turning from the working-man, we naturally ask when arose the great class of merchants, how their gradual rise affected the condition of the population, whether their appearance synchronised with any other political and social events, and in fact we prepare for the question as to the influence of commerce on politics and society.

Those who know the part that commerce plays in civilization are aware that the
 The Universities.

growth of intercourse will naturally bring larger culture, and the learning of the old world and of the Saracens

*The Travelled
Englishman
and the
Traveller in
England.*

will be taught in the schools of the West. It will be impossible to rigidly confine the currents of thought to the four seas, or even only to break the barrier here and there by such stories as that of the Roman missionaries. England must be looked on as belonging to the circle of a great civilization. How far Englishmen went abroad, and how far the men of other nations came to England, requires to be set forth.

The Fine Arts.

Again, to those who believe in the organic connection of all branches of the national life it will be of interest to learn in what way the character of art partook of the nature of life around it, how far its methods or motives can be borrowed, why the fifteenth century gave pause to our art, why at a certain period cathedrals ceased to be built, and when it was we added great names in our turn to the list of painters.

Music.

The music of Anglo-Saxon and of Dane will to some make clearer the influence of skald and gleeman; the effect of poetry will be noted, the growth of instruments, and the increasing complexity of music.

Scenery.

Possibly the change in the landscape might be described: the alteration in the face of the country with the draining of fens, the making of roads, and the clearing of forests; the introduction of fresh trees and plants.

*The Influence
of Geography
on Social Life.*

We must recognise that the position of Great Britain, as the known world grew wider, altered for the better; the effect of rivers,

mountains, and seas in fixing the boundaries of kingdoms and sub-kingdoms, in altering or preserving languages, in determining politics and the opinions of districts, and, the chief point of all, in deciding the character of what bids fair to be the language of commerce, and probably of all international communication.

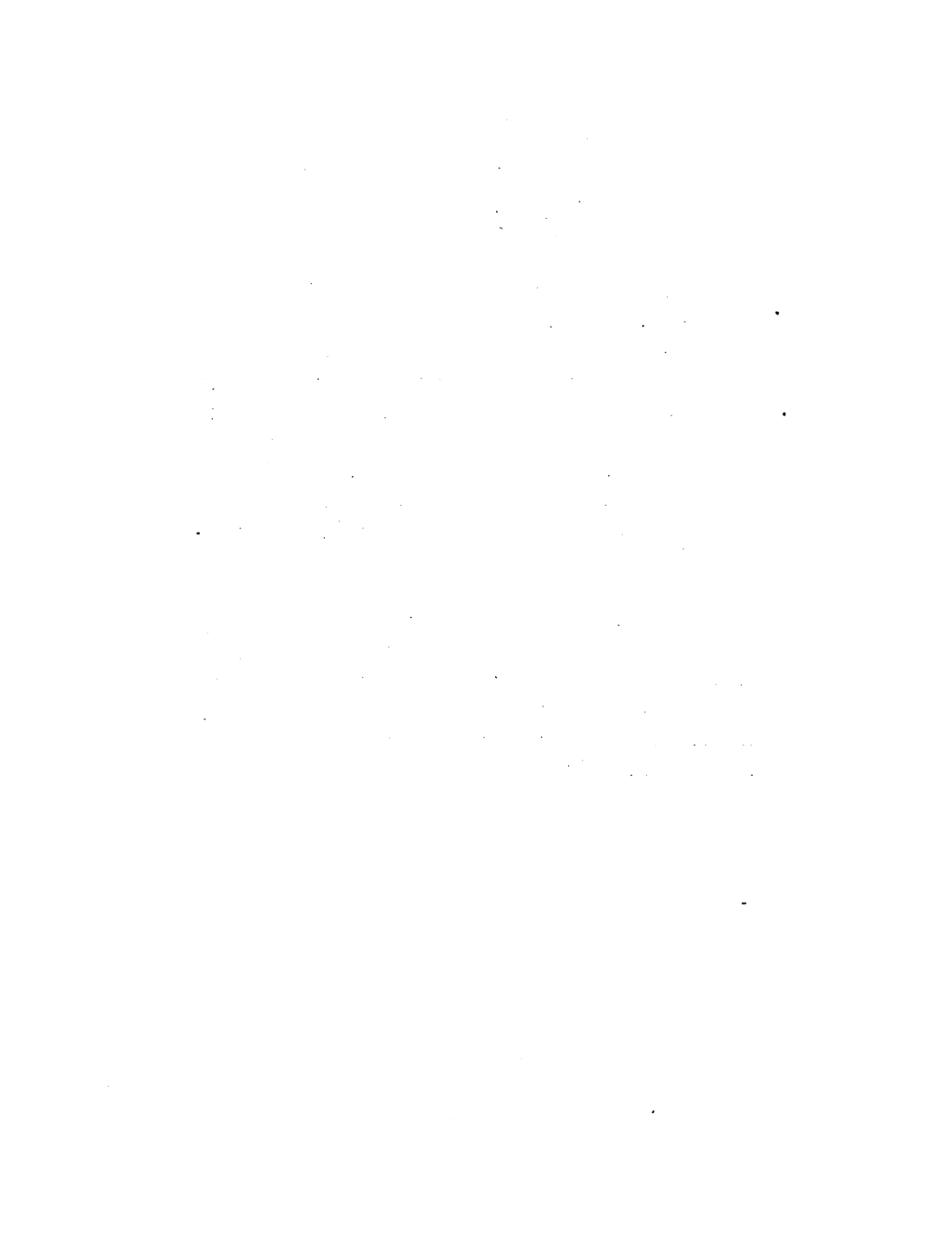
The Homes
and Household
Implements. As it is important to know where men lived in relation to the world at large in order to

understand how they lived, so we should be acquainted with their dwelling-places, whether in town or country, at any period; we should observe the changing styles of building, distinguish the international influence, the part that the facility of obtaining material played, and notice the gradual evolution of the rooms, the way that they were adorned and furnished, to see how far in beds and baths, in the provision for study and privacy, civilization was advancing.

Social England
Classics. From their literature we can gather most, for here, with not much thought of history, contemporary spoke to contemporary of what each knew well. In the pre-Elizabethan drama we can see the natural touches that show it was not elaborated as an exercise, but with the intention of possessing a living interest, and in what interested them we discover their attitude, not merely to religion, but to much else besides. By recognizing this fact we learn that masterpieces of literature lose their full meaning unless we find in them, besides creative power and command of the technique of art, "the very age and body of the time." Shakespeare's England and Chaucer's England are what Shakespeare

and Chaucer knew of life ; the outer gallery of pictures the unknown artists drew, from which we pass into the inner rooms whose walls are covered by the groups and figures that the masters painted.

Biography and History. In this widening of history, biography is no longer cramped by being cut off from social life ; the great men are not isolated, but take their proper places among their fellow-countrymen, their lives forming fit landmarks, because they are akin to the people among whom they live, their characters not adapted to the century of the commentator, but bearing the impress of the forces round them, whose constant pressure is part of their life. They and those who are lesser than themselves, and the changing conditions that create them and are modified by them, form the great and continuous whole, which constantly alters, as all life alters, coming from the past and linked to the future. It no longer becomes necessary to make all times alike, except for constitutional changes, or improvement in weapons, and the crowning or death of a king, pleading the half-truth that human nature is the same in every age.



PREFACE

THIS volume contains, as I believe, the first attempt to give a connected view of the whole of the subject with which it deals. Various portions have been fully treated by previous writers; but they have hardly attempted to gather up the scattered threads, and to show the influence which aliens have exercised in all districts of the country and on every side of English life.

The available evidence for different parts of the subject is not of uniform value. For the incursion of the religious refugees in the later periods there is a mass of important material which has been brought together through the researches promoted by the Huguenot Society as well as in the writings of Burn, Baird, Smiles, Agnew and Poole, and in the excellent papers contributed to the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*. A mine of information in regard to the immigrants who came as adventurers in the wake of the Conqueror will be found in *Domesday Book*, and collections of charters. But for the history of the large numbers, in all periods of our national life, who were mainly actuated by economic motives in settling in this country, we are forced to rely on occasional and incidental reference in charters and histories, and even on unsupported local tradition. These traditions have often found a place in local histories, and I have not felt called upon to reject evidence which satisfied enquiries on the spot. In some cases, too, local tradition may have been confirmed by the evidence of dialect or of surviving habits.

Partly with the view of coming across unrecorded information, and partly in the hope of obtaining help to test local tradition by local knowledge, I invited some of my former pupils to assist me in collecting materials for this book. I take this opportunity of thanking all those who have responded to my appeal; but I desire specially to acknowledge the debt I owe to papers left in my possession by the late Miss Lamond, as well as the assistance I have received from Miss Ruth Anderson, Miss Leonard, Miss Turner, and Miss Younger, all of Girton College. To Miss Anderson I am particularly indebted for constant help in arranging the materials and verifying the references; and she has kindly contributed the chapter on the *Émigrés*, as well as the maps and illustrations to the text. I also desire to express my thanks to the authorities of the French Hospital, and other owners of the copyright in the various pictures, for permission to use them.

I venture to add, that I shall be most grateful to any readers who may be willing to call my attention to evidence as to the settlement of other aliens, so as to enable me to render this account of the influence the immigrants exercised less imperfect than it is.

W. C.

TRIN. COLL., CAMB.,
November 8th, 1897.

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INTRODUCTION

I

INTRODUCTION

1. So many diverse tribes and stocks have contributed to the formation of the English nation that it is not easy to draw a line between the native and the foreign elements. After all, the Jutes and Saxons and Angles were themselves immigrants, who came to this island in historic times ; the main stock was transplanted, and is no more native to the soil than the branches which have been grafted into it from time to time. It seems a little arbitrary to fix on any definite date and designate the immigrants of the earlier times, component parts of the English race, while we speak of the later arrivals as aliens.

There can, however, be little doubt that we must at least go back to the time preceding the Norman Conquest. Though the English nation was but imperfectly consolidated before that event, there was so much custom common to all the branches of the Teutonic stock, then settled in the southern part of the island, that there was already a dim sense of nationality among the people ; and immediately after the Conquest, the English and the Norman elements of the population, living respectively by English and Norman law, could be readily distinguished. In the time of the Confessor the English people had ceased to be a congeries of kindred, but hostile tribes ; and the foreigners,

who came among them from Normandy, were looked upon as intruders. The laws of Edward the Confessor served at least as a traditional expression for the English custom, which had been preserved in part, and set aside in part, by the Norman king and the Norman immigrants. New settlers at that date and under these conditions cannot be regarded as an original element in the English stock.

But were they the first of the alien immigrants? What shall we say of the Roman missionaries who planted Christianity in this country? They certainly came from abroad; they certainly exercised an extraordinary influence upon the development of English civilization. Still, just because the tribes were so little advanced at the time when S. Augustine and his companions came to our shores, the work these men did was very different from that of the later arrivals. When we speak of aliens and foreigners, our language implies the existence of political institutions and settled life. The Roman missionaries identified themselves with the English, and helped to build up our institutions and our laws; we cannot properly speak of the "far-coming man" as an alien, till the work which these pioneers helped to do had been accomplished, and national life was to some extent organized. We need not under-rate the importance of the work they did, because we treat it as different in character from that of the later immigrants.

There is more difficulty, perhaps, in justifying an arrangement by which the Danes are treated as original, and not as intruded, elements in the English stock. The kings of Wessex had so far established their authority over

the other tribes, that there was at least the beginning of a national administration before the Danish incursions commenced, and the line of later English kings can be traced back to the house of Coeur. The people against whom Alfred waged war, who were recognised as under a separate rule in the region where Danish law was enforced against whom a treacherous plot was organised on St. Brice's Day, may surely be treated as a distinct and alien element in the English population. Of Canute it may be said that he was king by mere right of conquest more truly than William himself: and the complaint of the Chronicler of Peterborough is at least as bitter when he tells of the deeds of the Danes as when he dismises the characters of Norman kings.

Yet, when we take a wide survey of the history of Western Europe, we may feel that there is some justification for treating the Danes as original elements in the English stock. It is not merely that they were closely connected in kinship with the Jutes and Angles: so, too, for that matter, were the Normans. But, in the arts of peace and war alike, the Danes were on the same plane as the English, whom they plundered and among whom they settled; they could not diffuse a culture they had not themselves received. The incursions of the Danes must be regarded as a wave of barbarian invasion, rather than as the immigration of members of an organized state. They brought with them an energy and enterprise which have doubtless had lasting results on English industry and commerce; not a few of their customs appear to have been incorporated in our municipal and national institutions.

Still, the influence they exercised was dissimilar from that of later aliens, through whom England came to share more and more in that heritage of civilization which had been developed in classical times and preserved in the Mediterranean lands. We may do well to adopt the language which became current in Norman times, and to treat the Danes as merely that English tribe which effected the latest settlement in Britain.

The last-comers were widely diffused throughout the length and breadth of the country; not only were they supreme in the Danelagh, but they had their settlements in the heart of Wessex itself. The dedication of churches to Danish saints, and other indications of their presence, show what a large part they played in the growth of town life in England. But the most striking proof of their influence is in the new energy which seemed to be called forth by mere contact with them. They were bold voyagers, who could colonize Iceland and Greenland and plant settlements in North America;¹ they were enterprising merchants, who fared by sea and land to the Black Sea and Levant; and it seems as if they introduced a new strain into English blood. Still, we must remember that their English contemporaries accounted them barbarians; they had barbarian virtues and barbarian vices; they had much to do in making England what it is, but they were not the representatives of a higher civilization. It is at least convenient to take the reign of

¹ Beamish, *The Discovery of America* (1841); J. Toulmin Smith, *The Northmen in New England* (1842).

Edward the Confessor as our starting-point, and to treat the Norman as the first of the great waves of alien immigration into England.

2. The line which is here laid down in regard to the date corresponds with the limitations which it seems well to impose in attempting to treat this large subject in small compass. There are many directions in which the influence of aliens may operate on a community, and it is quite possible that the most important effects are those which are least obvious, just because they lie deepest. There are natural aptitudes and dispositions,—like the love of the sea,—or formed habits of frugality and industry, which may, perhaps, be transmitted as the races mingle. An alteration in the people themselves would be far more important in the long run than any external change. The readiness with which Englishmen adapt themselves to the conditions of life in all parts of the world, may possibly be connected with the curious admixture in the stock from which they have sprung. But these effects are not easy to trace definitely; it is hard to establish any conclusive proof which shall enable us to derive this or that national quality from any special strain of alien blood. Such speculations may interest the anthropologist, but they hardly fall within the purview of the historian. We shall do well to confine ourselves to sides of life where the steps in the connection can be noted; we want to have evidence which can be examined and tested, and hence we have to look at external circumstances, rather than at inner characteristics. Social forces and institutions, industrial arts and commercial practice may be the mere

adjuncts of progress, rather than the sources from which it springs ; but they are at least the straws which enable us to trace the course of a current. We may confine ourselves to examining the evidence of direct influence of this sort, without attempting to dwell on the indirect effects which may have been brought about ; these we pass over, not because they are unimportant, but because we have no definite data by which to follow them out or to estimate their actual importance.

Still, it would be a grave error to treat the phenomena we can observe, such as the transplanting of forms of social organization, or the transfusion of knowledge of industrial arts, as trivialities. There is some reason to believe that the whole civilization of the globe is one ; the marked steps in invention and discovery have been taken once for all, and then have been followed in one region after another. It is almost certain that this occurred in regard to the invention of money ; it is at least probable in regard to the alphabet. There may be arts which have been simultaneously developed in different lands, or arts which have been lost and re-discovered ; but, on the whole, there has been an ever-increasing tradition of culture, which has been passed on from distant ages by one generation after another. The principal method by which the culture, thus gradually attained, has been diffused over the globe has been by migration. Even in the present day, when the opportunities of intercommunication and the means of transmitting knowledge are so easy, ideas and opinions do not travel rapidly from advanced to backward countries, unless through the personal medium

of those who are imbued with the advanced ways of thinking. So far as the practice of manual arts is concerned, it may be said that it can hardly be communicated from one country to another, unless those who possess the necessary skill shall migrate; and this is also true of forms of social organization. If this holds good in the present day, it was far more completely true in the past; and it may be said that so far as England has come to share in the civilization of the ancient world and in the more rapidly revived culture of Continental Europe, it has been because of the aliens who transplanted knowledge and habits with which they were personally imbued.

Whatever view we take of the question as to the precise extent to which the arts of life, as practised in Roman Britain, survived through the period of the English Conquest, we cannot but feel that much was so wholly lost, or so deeply buried, that it was only restored to light under the influence of immigrants from abroad. We may trace from the time of the Norman Conquest onwards how the successive waves of alien immigration brought back first one and then another portion of ancient civilization to Britain. We may have occasionally to notice how aliens contributed elements of more recent development, which were not derived from the classical world at all; or even to show how, in their exceptional circumstances here,¹ they called some new, or newly adapted, types of organization into being. Their influence has been so varied and so wide that we shall do well to confine our-

¹ See below, XVI. Century, p. 186.

selves to features that can be examined and traced, rather than dwell on the subtle effects that are due to the admixture of races or the diffusion of a different morality.

3. In each century since the Norman Conquest a considerable number of immigrants have flocked to our country; the stream has never, so far as we can see, entirely ceased to flow; but there have been periods when the ingress has been more frequent and rapid than at other times. It will be most convenient to study these successive waves in turn, and especially to try to see in each instance what were the special attractions which drew them to England, or what were the disadvantages which rendered them anxious to leave their old homes. In some cases there was an economic attraction, and the prospect of a more prosperous career led them to try their fortunes in England; at other times political or religious disabilities forced them to forsake a lucrative calling and to come here as the objects of charity.

Again, we shall find that the lot of the immigrant on his arrival here was different in different ages; at times he was able to secure a high social status, and at other periods he might be exposed to much annoyance and more or less open hostility from his neighbours. The precise status accorded to the alien at any time and place, and the precise nature of the disabilities to which he had to submit, is another interesting subject of enquiry; while it is also important that we should notice how widely the influence of the immigrant was diffused in this country, and consider those cases where it was concentrated at particular points.

Lastly, we shall have to examine in regard to each wave of immigration what results may be properly ascribed to it,—whether the planting of some institution, or the introduction of some commercial habit or industrial art, can be definitely connected with one special migration or another. The information on the subject is, for the most part, scattered and fragmentary, but this scheme may at least serve to bring together into a connected form the facts which have come under my notice.

4. Though the migration of aliens to Britain has served as the main channel by which continental civilization has penetrated to this country, there has also been contact from another side. Natives of this island have travelled abroad and returned to their own land with new ideas which have borne good fruit. So far as Scotland is concerned, this seems to have been a very important factor; comparatively few foreigners migrated directly to North Britain in the Middle Ages, but large numbers of Scots took service in France, or were educated in Paris. Such scholars, on their return, advanced the cause of learning, and one of them, Bishop Elphinstone, founded the University of Aberdeen. This, in its constitution and terminology, closely resembled the mediæval University of Paris, upon which it was modelled. In the department of law Scottish practice was derived from France, and, through that medium, from the Roman civil code.¹ Many of the buildings of Scotland exhibit signs of French influence.

* J. Hill Burton, *The Scot Abroad* (1864), vol. i. p. 48, vol. ii. p. 240.

The churches of the sixteenth century often show traces of the Flamboyant style, then prevalent in France. Fyvie, a typical Scotch castle, was built by the Earl of Dunfermline, who had lived in France; and others like it, such as Glamis, recall the French chateau.¹ The mace at St. Andrews and the monument to John Murray at Melrose² testify to the influence of French models on Scotch architects at the time when the severance between England and Scotland was most complete. At a later date the Scot pursued his travels as a pedlar, and there seem to have been many dealers wandering about in Poland in the early part of the seventeenth century.³ Englishmen do not seem to have gone abroad so habitually, and the influence exercised in this fashion on English development is less striking. At the same time there is some reason to believe that the architect of Westminster Abbey was an Englishman, who had visited foreign countries, and adopted a French plan for the church, while preferring the native style for all the details.⁴ During the seventeenth century the English politicians who took refuge in Holland came back full of the desirability of imitating, and thus rivalling, the Dutch; and a considerable saving was effected in the iron trade during the eighteenth century by the English fiddler who travelled to Sweden to acquaint himself with the nature

¹ J. Hill Burton, *The Scot Abroad* (1864), vol. ii. p. 270.

² P. M. Chalmers, *A Scots Mediæval Architect* (1895), pp. 11, 35.

³ Masson, *Privy Council Records, Scotland*, vol. viii. pp. 160, 181. Chambers, *Domestic Annals* (1858), vol. i. p. 543.

⁴ G. Scott, *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey* (1863), p. 20.

of the slitting machinery which was in use there.¹ Still, it appears, on the whole, that the Englishman, who observed that things were better managed in France or Holland, usually set himself, not to copy the example directly, but to introduce French or Dutch men to do the work themselves. This was, at all events, the case in regard to the draining of the fens, and the construction of harbours on the south coast ; and, so far as England is concerned, the principal industrial and social influences will be adequately indicated if we concentrate attention on the aliens who have immigrated to this country, and in the main, on those who came to stay.

¹ Scrivenor, *Iron Trade*, 120 n.

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II

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5. THE Norman invasion may be regarded as not only the first, but as by far the most important invasion of alien immigrants into England. We have no accurate statistics, and cannot make a definite comparison of the numbers that came at this period and at later times; but the impression, which an examination of the evidence leaves on the mind, is that no subsequent wave attained anything like the same proportions, or affected such a large area of the country. If we estimate its influence in another fashion, its importance is equally striking: the immigrants of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries introduced some new arts, and were an interesting factor in our industrial prosperity; but their coming had very little bearing on our political development; on the other hand, the men who accompanied and followed William the Conqueror left their mark on every side of our national life. At the later date the constitution was fixed and the national habits and character were formed; it was not easy to mould them; but at the earlier time the social and political life of England was so primitive that it was comparatively easy to affect and direct its development.

England, in the eleventh century, offered attractive openings of every sort to enterprising men; it was a country which was rich in natural products of many kinds, but it was very little developed. Just as in the present day there are many men who go out from European countries in the hopes of making their way in South Africa, so too the energetic Fleming¹ or Norman was inclined to make his way to England in the eleventh century, in the hopes of carving out a career for himself there. He might find an opening as a merchant, or as a farmer, or artisan; or in connection with the government, either as a mercenary soldier or an administrator. There were plenty of men who forced their way to the front in one or other of these capacities, and we shall have to consider each in turn below. In the meantime it may suffice to insist on the fact, which is recorded by Henry of Knighton,² that William of Normandy led with him a great number of people of different nations, such as Normans, Picards, and Burgundians, of whom a large proportion remained scattered throughout England. Some obtained lands, given them by William himself or by other lords, and some purchased them, or remained in official positions in the hope of securing them. But though there were so many who followed in the train of

¹ The readiness of the Flemings to migrate was partly due to the frequent inundations of which we read at this time; much of their own country was rendered uninhabitable. Meyer, *Annales Rerum Fland.*, 1086, 1100. Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Histoire de Flandre* (1874), i. 71, 110.

² Knighton (R. S.), vol. i. p. 58.

the Conqueror, the Norman invasion really commenced before his time, and lasted long after his death.

6. Proximity to Scandinavia, Denmark, and the Low Countries had rendered Britain a natural place of settlement for the Danes, Jutes, Angles, Saxons, and Flemings.¹ From its position in regard to Normandy, England became a resort of the Normans, and the intercourse, which was promoted by geographical situation, was furthered by political alliance. The marriage of Ethelred and Emma formed a tie between the two countries, and both by blood and education Edward the Confessor was warmly attached to Normandy. During his reign there was a frequent succession of foreigners who took a prominent part in the administration of the realm, both civil and ecclesiastical, and English sentiment and patriotism rallied round the house of Godwin. But the Norman influence was not merely a court fashion; it appears to have penetrated deeply into the life of the towns. There is a curious ordinance in one of William the Conqueror's laws, which may be regarded as at least embodying the tradition current in the reign of Henry I. From it we gather that a certain number of Francigenæ had settled in English towns in the time of the Confessor, had adopted English customs, and had begun to pay "scot and lot." It was ordained that in William's reign such men should be treated as English, and not as French; and we gather that the towns, as well as the court, were to some extent

¹ On the influence of immigrants in the time of Edgar see Richard of Cirencester, *De gestis Regum* (R. S.) ii. 118.

leavened with Norman influence before the time of the Conquest.¹

It is also true that, despite the comparative isolation of the English Church in these early days, some of the monastic houses on the Continent had a certain amount of connection with England. The Abbey of S. Peter's at Ghent was endowed with an estate at Lewisham;² and S. Denys enjoyed possession of a harbour and of salt-works on the English coast.³ These instances may be merely isolated; but at least they serve to show that the interconnection, which gave rise to such serious mischief when Edward III. struck a blow at the alien priories of the foreign orders, already existed between some of the great Benedictine abbeys on the Continent and the English soil.

It was thus that during the reign of Edward the Confessor "the seeds of the Norman Conquest were sowing." As Professor Freeman has summarised it, his reign is "a period of struggle between natives and foreigners for dominion in England. The foreigners gradually win the upper hand, and for a time they are actually dominant. Then a national reaction overthrows their influence, and the greatest of living Englishmen becomes the virtual ruler. But this happy change did not take place till the strangers had become accustomed to look on English estates and honours as their right, a right which they

¹ *Laws of William the Conqueror*, III. iv., in Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*.

² Varenbergh, *Relations diplomatiques* (1874), 40.

³ Doublet, *S. Denys*, 187, 719.

soon learned to think they might one day assert by force of arms."¹

7. At the actual time of the invasion William had to provide himself, not only with an army, but with a fleet of transports; and though he could obtain a certain amount of support from his feudal dependents, he really relied on the assistance of a motley crowd of many nations, who followed him as mercenaries, and who had to be paid in some form or another. The terms *Francus* or *Francigena*, as they occur in eleventh-century documents, cannot be restricted closely; they seem to be used of all those, whether Bretons, or Normans, or Picards, or Flemings, who came over in the train of the Conqueror. It is obvious, too, that the easiest means of satisfying the claims made upon him was to pay, not in ready money, but in lands. In all ages it has been convenient to generals to reward their troops in this fashion, and Cromwell's army was eventually paid off with debentures on real estate in Ireland.² William, in all probability, was but badly provided with money, but the fall of Harold and his supporters at Hastings, together with the punishment meted out to those who broke into rebellion subsequently, placed a very large area of land at his disposal. With this he could not only reward those who had fought by his side, but pay for a portion at least of the fleet of 3,000 ships which is said to have been engaged in the work of transport.³ In

¹ Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, ii. 80.

² Prendergast, *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland* (1865), p. 78 *seq.*

³ Guillelmus Gemmeticensis, in Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Scri Antiq.*, estimates it thus, lib. vii. c. 34.

one case, at any rate, we read in *Domesday Book* that a carucate of land was granted in payment for a ship.¹

The leaders in the expedition were settled as tenants in chief in all parts of the country ; a glance at the names in the index to any county in *Domesday Book* suggests that many of them were of foreign extraction ; while there are not a few entries which specify that the land had belonged to an Englishman under the Confessor. The fact that there was a sweeping change among the proprietary is clear enough, and has never been questioned ; but there is at least some reason for believing that the cultivating tenantry was also recruited from among the immigrants.

At first sight there seems to be little in *Domesday Book* which lends weight to this opinion ; there is occasional mention of Francigenæ, but only two or three are specified here and there. The comparatively large colonies of new-comers,² which were settled at Shrewsbury or Norwich, can hardly be taken as giving us any indication in regard to the proportions in which the two races were diffused throughout the country generally. Still, even though there is so little direct evidence from *Domesday Book*, we may yet feel, not only that its statements are perfectly compatible with the presence of a large population of cultivating aliens, but that we are almost forced to assume the existence of such a class in order to render the condition of affairs, indicated in the Survey, more intelligible.

¹ *Domesday*, i. 336, a. 2.

² Flemingtuna (Flempton), in Suffolk (D. B. II. 357*b*), is suggestive of a rural settlement.

A large part of England, especially in Yorkshire and the north, was so completely devastated by William, after the rebellion of 1069, that it ceased to have any value at all; it is described in one entry after another as waste. There were also many estates in different parts of the country which had suffered seriously; the stock, either of cattle or of labour had, in all probability diminished owing to the war, and the value of the property had declined. On the other hand, there were also many estates which had risen in value between the time of the Confessor and the taking of the Survey. On almost any page, taken casually, entries will be found which show an increased value since the tenant received the estate; as well as cases of estates which had improved to a higher figure than they had been worth before the Conquest. As labour was the chief factor in turning an estate to good account, there must have been an increased supply of labour; and it is difficult to see whence this was drawn, unless the common soldiers in the Norman army were willing to settle down as tenants and cultivate the land they had helped to conquer.

That this was actually the case we can gather from the *Inquisitio Cantabrigiensis*—the one specimen which survives of the actual information collected by the commissioners as they visited each hundred in turn. From the transcript of it made at Ely, we learn that the commissioners were to collect sworn evidence from the sheriff of each shire, and all the barons and their Frenchmen and the whole hundred, from the priest, the bailiff, and six villains of each village. The names of the jurors in each hundred

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Gherbord at Chester and Walcher of Lorraine at Durham. The former had a brief and troubled career;¹ and the latter fell a victim to the indignation roused by the excesses of his turbulent followers.² There seems to have been a military settlement under Rufus at Carlisle;³ and Henry I.'s colonies at Haverfordwest, Tenby, Gower, and Ross⁴ may have been partly intended to keep the Welsh in check.⁵ There was a similar colony on the Scottish side of the border; for the Flemings held the Redhall at Berwick by the tenure of defending it against the English; they stuck bravely to the post when it was attacked in 1296, till the besiegers succeeded in setting it on fire, and the garrison perished in the flames.⁶ It is worth notice, also, that the shores of the Clyde became thickly studded with Flemish settlers, at the time when they were exiled by Henry II. of England; their descendants doubtless played a part in repelling the last Viking invasion, when the foreign attack was foiled at the Battle of Largs.

Some of those who came as soldiers would doubtless find occupation in carrying out the fortifications, which were erected so extensively in England during the Norman and Angevin periods. At the time when the Conqueror

¹ Ordericus Vitalis, iv. c. 12. (Migne, vol. 188, p. 331).

² Symeon Dunelm (R. S.), i. 113 *seq.* *English Chron.*, A.D. 1080.

³ Camden, *Britannia* (1637), 779; but their influence was not so temporary as Camden supposes. Creighton, *Carlisle*, p. 26.

⁴ They were transferred from Northumbria. Florence of Worcester, *Chron.*, 1111.

⁵ See especially William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Angl.*, v. 401. They had constant fighting with the Welsh, *Annales Cambriae* (R. S.), under 1111, 1116, 1140, 1167, 1193.

⁶ Chalmers, *Caledonia*, i. 601, note d.

landed, there were many earthworks, in well-selected situations, and crowned with wooden walls and castles; but there were few stone castles,¹ if indeed there were any at all. William devoted himself vigorously to the building of castles, both in England and Normandy; he founded the White Tower in London, and looked specially to his base of operations and connections with the continent; Dover, Lewes, Chichester, and Arundel overhung the coast, while Rochester and Canterbury protected the great road. The western approaches to London were defended by Farnham and Wallingford; while York, and later, Norham and Durham, were outposts in the unruly north. The old sites were covered with a shell keep, as at Alnwick or Clare; while heavy rectangular keeps were erected on new sites, and where the old earthworks were capable of sustaining the weight. Only a few of these works were executed in stone in the Conqueror's time; but William Rufus, who had realized in his struggle with Robert what advantage accrued from the possession of castles, pressed forward with the work. Carlisle and Newcastle rose on the north; while on the extreme south-west a line of castles, such as Chepstow, Caermarthen, and Tenby, kept open the communication with Pembroke.² Along the Welsh marshes they were more thickly studded; as early as the time of Domesday there were four castles, besides that of Shrewsbury, in the county controlled by Earl Roger; and Hugh of Avranches was busy in fortifying

¹ Clark, *Medieval Military Architecture* (1884), i. 36.

² Clark, *op. cit.*, i. 49, 50.

the palatinate of Chester. The reign of Henry I. was fruitful in new castles ; and the facility with which they were erected, during the time of Stephen, was perhaps the greatest evil of his reign. Henry II. was not only forced to expel the foreign mercenaries, but to raze the strongholds where they had established themselves. No fewer than 375, or, as some say, over 1000, castles were destroyed in consequence of his commands. At the same time the royal castles were carefully repaired and strengthened.¹ At the close of his reign there were in England 657 castles ; of these 55 had rectangular and 96 shell keeps, while of 506 little is known. In Wales there were 21 rectangular and 20 shell keeps, and 250 other castles ; though some of these were doubtless mere earthworks, or at most wooden fortresses. The mere enumeration of these facts shows that a vast amount of labour was required for such great works of military engineering. The rectangular keeps differ obviously from pre-Norman castles in their character, while they resemble, both in style and workmanship, the fortresses erected at the same date in Normandy.² Some, at least, of those who came here to fight, would find long-continued employment in the construction of military works.

There was another avocation, less directly connected with the operations of war, to which some of them may have been able to devote themselves. Ralph de Diceto, in describing the effects of Henry II.'s action in ex-

¹ Clark, *op. cit.*, i. 60.

² *Id. ibid.*, i. 42. Compare Caen and Falaise ; the type was probably introduced from Maine.

elling them the realm, speaks of the Flemings as driven from the castle to the plough, and from camps to workshops.¹ It is quite likely that some of the mercenaries had been drawn, not from the agricultural, but from the artisan population, and reverted to the textile trades in which Flanders had already attained a high degree of excellence. Some of them may have returned to the continent, some appear to have been permitted to remain in England, and some found their way into the more northerly parts of Britain.²

9. Reasons have already been given for the opinion expressed above that there was a very considerable infusion of foreign elements among the cultivating tenantry throughout England generally at the time of the Norman Conquest. That argument was based on the figures and facts included in the great survey which William took of his kingdom. We have no similar record for the lowlands of Scotland; the evidence as to the distribution of alien settlers in that part of the country is scattered in incidental references, though much of it has been collected by the indefatigable George Chalmers in his *Caledonia*. He has noted two distinct periods, when the tide of foreign

¹ Ralph de Diceto (R. S.), i. 297.

² Such immigrants also settled in the Scotch towns. During the reign of William the Lion there were French, English, and Flemings among the inhabitants of St. Andrews: two Flemings settled at Perth, one being a goldsmith; and at Edinburgh a Fleming became a burgess of the town: St. Andrews boasted a Flemish provost in the reign of David; and Perth a Flemish saddler. Chalmers, *op. cit.*, p. 601, note d.

invasion, which was setting towards England, flowed on into the country north of the Tweed.

The marriage of Emma and Ethelred had been a link which brought Norman influence to bear on England; and it was through the marriage of Margaret to Malcolm Canmore that the way was prepared for the southern invasion of the Scottish lowlands. The territory over which Malcolm ruled, was a ready refuge for the English who were displaced by the Conqueror, like Earl Gospatrick of Northumbria, and for his discontented and rebellious followers. "While Malcolm and Margaret reigned, Scotland, the land which had sheltered Margaret and her house in the days of their banishment, stood open to receive, and its king's court stood open to welcome, every comer from the south.¹ Native Englishmen flying from Norman oppression and Norman plunder—Normans who thought that their share in the plunder of England was too small—men of both races, of both tongues, of every class² and rank among the two races—all found a settlement across the Scottish border. . . . Scotland and the coast of Scotland were crowded with English and Norman knights, with English and Norman clerks. They got benefices, temporal and

¹ According to Turgot, traders from various countries who came "by land and sea" were encouraged to visit Scotland by Queen Margaret. They brought with them valuable goods, which had been unknown in the country until that period. *Vita S. Margarete*, in Symeon Dunelm (*Surtees Society*, vol. li.), p. 241.

² Vast numbers of slaves were brought away in Malcolm's raid of Northumberland. Symeon Dunelm (R. S.), ii. 192.

spiritual, in the Scottish land. They may have converted, they may have civilized, but conversion and civilization are processes which are not always specially delighted in by those who are to be converted and civilized. Anyhow, they were strangers, brought into the land by kingly favour, to flourish, as men would naturally deem, at the cost of the sons of the soil. The national spirit of the Scottish people rose, the jealousy of the strangers established in the land waxed stronger and stronger. It might be in some measure kept down as long as novelty was embodied in the persons of the warrior king and the holy queen; as soon as they were gone the pent-up torrent burst forth in its full strength."¹ Under Donald Bane Celtic feeling reasserted itself, and in 1093 he "drove out all the English who were before with King Malcolm."²

Under David, the son of Margaret and Malcolm, the southern influence was felt once more. He had lived, during the time of his banishment, at the English court as Earl of Huntingdon; and when, in 1124, he returned to Scotland as king, a number of companions followed him, and had lands assigned them in the Scottish lowlands. The relations between the northern kings and the southern territory were close, if not friendly. David endeavoured to extend the boundaries of his realm to the south, and was defeated at the Battle of the Standard, and he supported the cause of his sister Maud in her

¹ Freeman, *William Rufus* (1882), ii. 25.

² *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 1093 (R. S.), ii. 196.

struggle with Stephen ; William the Lion was surprised and captured while he was tilting at Alnwick Castle. But through all these varying incidents the tide of invasion continued ; and William, on his return from Winchester in 1174, was accompanied by a body of followers like that which David had attracted to him when he entered on the realm. The origin of one after another of the families, which came to be specially distinguished in the later history of Scotland, may be traced to the incursions in the time of David and his grandson, William the Lion.

The most notable of these was that family of Stuart which eventually rose to royal rank in Scotland, and under which the union of the crowns was at length accomplished.¹ Walter, the steward under David I. and his successor, and the progenitor of this illustrious family, was the son of Alan, who held the manor of Oswestry ; Roger, Earl of Shrewsbury, had founded the monastery of Wenlock as a cell of the Cluniac house of De Claritate ; and Walter transplanted a colony from the Shropshire minster when he founded the Abbey of Paisley in 1169.²

The facts in regard to the earlier aspirants to the Scottish crown are more familiar.³ The Balliol, who took a prominent part on the English side in the Battle of the Standard, was a Norman of Barnard Castle in Durham. He must have risked forfeiting the lands he

¹ Chalmers, *Caledonia*, i. 572, 573.

² Tanner, *Notitia*, Wenlock.

³ Chalmers, *op. cit.*, i. 567.

had already received in Berwickshire by opposing David at that juncture; but the king appears to have felt genuine regard for him, despite the part he played at that time. At any rate, the family continued to prosper and to strengthen its position both in Forfarshire and in Galloway.¹ The Cumyns were a Northumberland family who came to Scotland under David I., and were established in Roxburghshire by his son, Earl Henry; and Richard Cumyn, the Chancellor of William the Lion, who accompanied him in his captivity, married a granddaughter of King Donald Bane, and thus brought the crown within the reach of his descendant John Cumyn.² His murderer, Robert Bruce, also came of a Norman stock; Robert de Bruis had an enormous fee granted him in Yorkshire;³ his son was a contemporary of King David at the court of Henry I., and obtained a grant of lands in Annandale.⁴ Nor was the patriot Wallace of native origin; the Walense family had followed the fortunes of the founder of the Stuarts from England, and settled in Ayrshire and Renfrewshire.⁵ It would be tedious to trace the sources from which the stocks of other Scottish families were derived; it may be sufficient to mention Warnebald, who settled in Cunningham, in Ayrshire, and adopted the surname which was the patronymic of the Earls of Glencairn;⁶ the head of the Lindsays migrated from Essex to Clydesdale

¹ Chalmers, *Caledonia*, i. 567.

² Chalmers, *op. cit.*, i. p. 556, note k.

³ *Domesday Book*, i. 332, b.

⁴ Chalmers, i. 569.

⁵ Chalmers, i. 577.

⁶ Chalmers, i. 505, n., 536.

and the Lothians;¹ the Maxwells were also introduced by David I., and found their home in Roxburghshire;² the Seton family,³ the Oliphants,⁴ the Menzies,⁵ the Giffards,⁶ the Montgomeries,⁷ the Maules,⁸ the Barclays,⁹ the Lundies,¹⁰ the Rollos,¹¹ the Sinclairs of Rosslyn¹² and the Colvilles,¹³ all bear names which suffice at all events to suggest that southern extraction, which can be proved for many of them by documentary evidence. Even families that are associated with the highlands have been affected by the alien influence. Just as the Geraldines and other Norman settlers under Strongbow were said to become more Irish than the Irish themselves, so the Gordons¹⁴ and Frasers¹⁵ came to take their places, not as the heralds of a new civilization, but as the heads of Scottish clans. It thus appears that the effects of the Norman invasion were ultimately extended over a far larger area than that which was originally affected by it.

10. There was considerable difference in the social and

¹ Chalmers, i. 507.

² Chalmers, i. 511.

³ Chalmers, i. 517. Taylor (J.), *Great Historic Families of Scotland* (1887), i. 126.

⁴ Chalmers, i. 515-16.

⁵ Chalmers, i. 584.

⁶ Chalmers, i. 516-17.

⁷ Chalmers, i. 573, note y.

⁸ Chalmers, i. 525. Taylor, *Great Historic Families*, i. 320-1.

⁹ Chalmers, i. 523.

¹⁰ Chalmers, i. 533.

¹¹ Chalmers, i. 541.

¹² Chalmers, i. 548. Hay, *Genealogy of the Saintclairs* (1835), pp. 4, 32.

¹³ Chalmers, i. 543.

¹⁴ Chalmers, i. 544. Taylor, *Great Historic Families of Scotland* (1887), ii. 293.

¹⁵ *Id.*, *ibid.*, ii. 269.

civil status of the multitude of aliens who were thus widely distributed throughout the country.

(i.) By far the larger number of those who followed William to England and David to Scotland were rewarded with grants of land and settled down as feudal tenants. Many of them held by distinctly military tenures; and formed, with their retainers, a feudal army settled on the soil. In those parts of the country, which were most exposed to attack, the military character of the alien settlement becomes most striking; but on this point it is unnecessary to dwell. Those who were invited, or encouraged, by the king obtained the status of feudal proprietors.

(ii.) There were, as we have already seen, many aliens who flocked to this country from private enterprise; and these probably came more readily, to pursue their callings as merchants or artisans, because they could count on royal protection.¹ At some places they appear to have been established as an independent community

¹ The social conditions which rendered England attractive are apparently more fully described in Flemish sources: "On raconte . . . que nombre de gildes flamandes, frappées coup sur coup par la comtesse Richilde de lourdes amendes et d'impôts de guerre non consentis, résolurent d'emigrer. Elles envoyèrent à la reine Mathilde des fondés de pouvoirs, qui lui exposèrent la commune détresse et réclamèrent sa protection. La reine fut touchée de leurs malheurs et n'eut point de repos avant que son époux accordât à ces pauvres gens un refuge et sa protection. . . . À peine débarqués, au nombre de quinze mille environ, nos tisserands de toile, nos drapiers, et nos mégissiers furent conduits comme des malfaiteurs vers les frontières du nord de l'Angleterre." Rahlenbeck, *Du principe d'association*, in *Messager des Sciences historiques* (1868), p. 19.

adjoining an English town; thus we have the French town at Norwich, as well as the English one, described in *Domesday*; and at Nottingham, the French town, which adjoined the castle, preserved its separate existence and special customs for centuries. The French burgesses at Shrewsbury do not appear to have been separately organized, though they were not at scot and lot with the rest of the inhabitants. These double towns, consisting of two districts inhabited by men with distinct privileges and obligations, had had their analogies on French soil long before; and probably the Castle of Maidens and the burgh of Canongate represent the French quarters of Edwin's burgh. If so, we may say that the formal absorption of these quarters into Edinburgh¹ was not completed till 1856; though in the cases of Norwich and Nottingham the union of their component parts occurred at such an early date that little information about the exact position of the French townsmen has survived.

(iii.) In other cases we find the aliens inhabiting a special quarter, and organized, not as a separate town, but as a community within a town. The most obvious instances of this kind of status is offered by the Jews. It is improbable that any of them were found in this country before the Conquest; but some of them were brought by William from Rouen.² We hear of them occasionally in the time of Rufus; and before the close of the reign of

¹ See below, p. 180.

² Jacobs, *London Jewry*, p. 39, in *Anglo-Jewish Exhibition Papers* (1887).

Henry I. a large number appear to have immigrated here. They would, as capitalists, be of great use to the king in facilitating the collection of revenue in money rather than kind,—a fiscal change which had not been completely effected in that reign. They were the objects of direct royal protection; they lived according to their own customs, and were liable to special fiscal demands, while they were free from those imposed on their neighbours. The increasing hostility of the townspeople, and the constant danger of mob violence, rendered it necessary for them to live in houses which might serve as fortresses, and they were generally massed together in a particular quarter. The expulsion under Edward I. deprived these districts of their inhabitants, and only the names survived to designate the parts of the town where Jews had resided.

It appears, however, that they were not the only aliens who were organized in this fashion, as independent communities within the city of London. The London guild of weavers maintained their independence of the city authorities till the fourteenth century; they contributed their ferm independently till the time of Henry VIII.,¹ and there is reason to believe that special houses were assigned to the men who followed this trade. These facts, as to the special position of this class of artisans, become intelligible when we see that there is at least a high probability that they were alien inhabitants. Weaving,

¹ Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (1896), i. 620.

though known as a domestic art, does not appear to have been practised as a trade for the market in the time before the Conquest; but there were groups of weavers and fullers in various towns before the end of the twelfth century.¹ At Winchester both trades were organized in guilds as early as 1131, and each trade paid an annual contribution of a mark of gold to the crown. The names of a weaver and of dyers in that town, at an earlier period in the same reign, suggest that they were of alien origin; and in 1131 the fullers paid a special fine in order that they should not be outlawed. In 1165 the weavers of Winchester paid a fine of one mark of gold for the right of preserving their own customs and choosing their own alderman. The whole of the evidence becomes intelligible on the supposition that the members of these guilds, both in London and Winchester,² were alien weavers, who were organized as a separate community under the protection of the crown. The evidence as to the guilds of weavers in other towns—such as Marlborough, Beverley,³ and Lincoln, and the special disabilities of the weavers or dyers—is at least perfectly congruent with this view of the nature of the institution.

¹ Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (1896), i. 646 and references.

² Compare the mention in 1280 of shops in the streets of Douay and Ypres on S. Giles's Hill, without the city. *Hist. MSS. Commission Report*, viii. 264.

³ Drogo of Bruere, a Fleming, obtained a large tract of land here from the Conqueror (Oliver, *Beverley*, 77); there was soon a settlement of Flemish weavers (*Ibid.*, 104), which seems to be commemorated in the name Flemingate (*Ibid.*, 273 n.).

The position of the men of the Emperor, who held the steelyard in London, and who were under the obligation of repairing the Bishopsgate, may be noticed as a parallel case; but it is distinct. These men of the Emperor, or Hansards, as they were called at a later date, were merchants who visited this country, and who were engaged in exporting wool, cattle, lead, and tin, and in importing wine, silver, and, at intervals, corn. They received protection from successive Plantagenet kings. A special residence was granted to them, and they were allowed to warehouse their goods, which they were free to sell throughout the country; while they were exempted from the payment of toll on their merchandise in London. But the Easterlings did not come here to make England their home; they had settlements, but they did not settle. The weavers and the Jews were permanent residents, in an allotted part or allotted houses in London, but they enjoyed their position through direct royal favour, and were on a different platform—whether more or less favourable may be a matter of dispute—but still different from that occupied by the citizens properly so called.

So far as Scotland is concerned, these remarks hardly seem to apply; no settlement of Jews seems to have been sanctioned in the northern kingdom; the weavers and dyers of Aberdeen may possibly have some analogy with those of London and Winchester; and the Flemings, who held the Redhall at Berwick,¹ may have been merchants,

¹ At Berwick a separate gild of Fleming merchants appears to have been organized (E. W. Robertson, *Early Kings*, i. 309);

rather than mere mercenaries.¹ But the whole of the information is so meagre, that no additional light is thrown on the details which remain in regard to English institutions.

(iv.) There are other cases where the aliens did not settle under direct royal authority, but where the towns were empowered to admit foreigners to the whole or a part of the privileges conferred on them by royal charter. The foreigners who were thus introduced would, of course, in many instances be Englishmen, who were foreign to the town and obtained its freedom so as to be able to carry on trade within its limits at all times; but the power could also be used in the case of aliens, who were foreign, not only to the town, but to the realm. At the time of the Conquest itself, the towns were so imperfectly organized that there was little opportunity for aliens to obtain civil status in this fashion,² but we see signs of their doing so soon after. Early in the twelfth century the townsmen of Coventry obtained a charter empowering them to admit

in any case the Flemish element in the early Scottish towns was very large, so that a writ is addressed "Francis et Anglis et Flamingis et Scotis" (Burnett, in *Scottish Review* (1868), xi. 11). When Bishop Robert of St. Andrews was desirous of erecting a burgh at his episcopal see, the king granted him a site, and transferred to the new burgh the services of Mainerd, as its provost, a Fleming and a burgess of Berwick, where he had learned the burgh usages and the duties of the office. Scott, *Berwick*, p. 6.

¹ Scott, *Berwick*, 61. For mercenaries in Scotland, see E. W. Robertson, *Early Kings*, i. 196.

² William was careful to provide for the security of traders on his first entry into London. Gulielmus Pictavensis, in Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Script.*, 89.

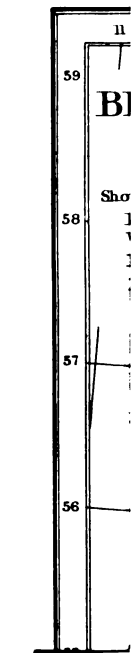
combургenses; and it would seem that any one of the numerous towns, which obtained a gild merchant, had the power, if it had the will, to adopt aliens to its trading privileges. How far this power was used in any place, is a question that could only be discussed satisfactorily in a case where the records had been carefully and successfully preserved; and at present the data seem to be sadly insufficient. Most of the names of *forinseci* in the early gild rolls of Shrewsbury¹ are at least suggestive of alien intrusion, though in the case of that particular town there may well have been persons born in the neighbourhood, who bore the names of their Norman ancestors.

That the privileges would be highly prized by the trading class, who came to this country to carry on the calling of merchants, is clear enough. Whether they dealt wholesale, as grocers, or by retail, as mercers, it would be an advantage to them to have ready access to the chief centres of population; while they would have a satisfactory status in doing business at the fairs, which were beginning to spring up in every part of the country. We have no means of judging how far this method of obtaining status was utilized; but it is at least important to see that during the period when there was such a rapid immigration of aliens, there was a means by which they might quickly obtain a certain amount of civil status in particular localities in England. The families of those who prospered in trade in any English town, would naturally grow up in the position of English townsmen.

¹ *Royal Hist. Soc. Trans.*, N. S., ix. 105 *seq.*

NOTE.

The term Colony has been applied only to Settlements in which the Immigrants were numerous, where a Church was founded or petitioned for (as by the Huguenots at Windsor), or where organisation existed among the strangers. Settlements which were very small, or about which little information has been forthcoming, have been recorded simply by the place names. In the cases of Stamford and Swads, the Settlers are merely stated to be "from the Low Countries"; these Colonies have been treated as Dutch.



household served as a school of manners and a sphere for training in the arts of war or of peace. There was but little trade in the country ; each estate was, so far as possible, organised as a self-sufficing community, in which all the various comforts and conveniences of life were provided in due proportion ; and it was a triumph of good management if the owner found it unnecessary to make purchases from the outside, but could live on the products of his own estate. Such a state of society implies that each estate was in a way an economic whole, and that all the different departments of industrial life received attention. Household management included attention to all sorts of arts that are now carried on as trades, and to which the most careful housekeeper gives no direct supervision. In quite recent times, the arts of baking and brewing and laundry work have been more and more transferred from the domestic sphere ; but at the time of the Conquest these were probably entirely domestic arts, and weaving also had hardly begun to be practised in England as a trade for the market. If we include estate management along with domestic management, we may say that the trades of the carpenter, the smith, the saddler, and the shoemaker were also included within the sphere of the household, and were supervised and rewarded as contributing parts to the economic life of this one organism. The household, while natural economy held its own, was the one important industrial institution in the country ; the functions, which it originally discharged, have been taken over and gradually developed by specialised organs, as our civilisation has become more complicated ; but at the time of the

Conquest, the household was almost the only, as it continued for centuries to be the most important, educational and industrial institution in the country.

It is more especially when we consider the large households, that we see what an extraordinary effect might be silently and gradually introduced through this agency. The households of the king, or of the bishops and barons, were very large; they could not be conveniently maintained at one given place. The difficulty of catering for such large numbers was most easily met by conveying the household itself from one estate to another; the first duty of the head of the household, when the yield of the harvest at his various manors became known, was to plan out his year, and to decide what portion of the time he might spend on this or on that estate. Hence it may be said that the Norman bishop or baron had no home; he was continually on the move, leading a migratory existence, and only settling down for comparatively brief periods: till we grasp this simple fact, which is amply illustrated by evidence of every kind, we cannot at all adequately realise the extraordinary discomfort of life in early mediæval times. In so far as a hall was not a fortress, it was a mere shelter intended for occasional and temporary use, and devoid of all the comforts of a home. Whatever disadvantages there might be in such a life, it yet afforded a means by which improved habits of life or methods of industry could be very rapidly diffused through a wide area.

The principal large households—in the economic sense of the term—which were permanently settled in one

position on their possessions, were the monasteries. They served an excellent purpose as centres of education, but they were also well-organised industrial communities, in which arts of different kinds were practised assiduously. The Benedictines were great employers of manual labour, and the buildings which remain testify to the care which was bestowed on constructing them; but the Cistercians were accustomed to have all the necessary labour of every kind carried out by the brethren themselves. The planting of a Benedictine cell was the establishment of a centre, from which skilled superintendence might be expected; the foundation of a Cistercian monastery was the organising of an industrial community. In one form or another they contributed immensely to the diffusion of new forms of practical activity.

So far as England is concerned the nature and extent of the beneficial influence exercised by these households is a matter of inference. In regard to Scotland, on the other hand, we have definite historical testimony; just because the country was less civilised, the effect of the immigration was more easily seen. We see it pictured in the life of Queen Margaret; her biographer dwells on the care she took to see that the royal progresses should be stately and magnificent; while she also was at pains that good order should be preserved, and that the poor should not be oppressed by the violence or greed of royal purveyors. Herself a student of books, and a noble example of a saintly domestic life, she promoted the cultivation of learning and piety in the most obvious form, by the fostering of monastic foundations; even the distant Iona was the

recipient of her bounty¹; the foundation of Dunfermline Abbey is usually ascribed to her, and the indirect influence of her example, which seems to have left such a marked impression on her sons, may be traced in the lavish liberality of her grandson David. In reading her life we can see how the character of the royal household, in its progress through the realm, must have been either a wonderful power for good or for evil; while the monasteries which she established remained as permanent centres of that higher civilisation which was in danger of being wholly swept away at her death.

A similar influence was exercised by some at least of the immigrants who followed David to the north. As Chalmers writes in describing this process of colonisation: "A baron obtained, from the king, a grant of lands, which he settled with his followers; built a castle, and a church, a mill, and a brewhouse; and thereby formed a hamlet, which, in the parlance of the age, was called the *ton* of the baron."² Such names as Livingstone in Linlithgow, and Stewarton in Ayrshire, may be instanced as cases in point.³ These hamlets, when at their best, were centres from which civilising and humanising influences might spread; even when the higher sides of life were ignored, they yet served for the practice of industrial arts; and if they were mere military fortresses, they probably gave an

¹ Ordericus Vitalis, bk. viii. cap. xx. (Migne, vol. 188, p. 620).

² Chalmers, *Caledonia*, i. 501.

³ Cosmo Innes, *Sketches of Early Scottish History* (1860), p. 89, quotes Ormiston, Dodingston, and Edmundston, as other cases.

immunity from devastation which was, so far as it went, favourable to progress. We cannot attempt to estimate the influence that was actually exerted as a matter of fact; it may suffice if we realise the immense possibilities opened up by this form of colonisation.

(ii.) While the alien settlers thus utilised the household in the work of colonisation, they seem to have actually introduced the first germs of industrial organisation of another type. As has been noticed above, we find guilds of weavers, bakers, and fullers in the time of Henry I., and these are the earliest instances of any craft association on English soil. Frith guilds there had been, and probably guilds merchant; but there is no indication of associations composed of men who carried on the same industry. Indeed the conditions, in which such associations could come into being, hardly existed; they presuppose a certain number of individuals working at a trade for the market. So long as household organisation covered the ground completely, and natural economy was practically universal, there could not be craft guilds. But after the Conquest, money economy had so far come into vogue in the towns, that two at least of the household arts were beginning to rank as separate trades in London and some other towns; the weavers and the bakers were formed into craft guilds.¹

¹ The development of craft-gilds, during the period when household-management and estate-management were dominant, has led to the opinion that these gilds were originally departments of household organisation, which were transmuted

In a preceding section an attempt was made to show that the weavers' gilds had a political character, and that they were composed of aliens, who lived directly under royal protection. Under these circumstances, we cannot say that these gilds were primarily economic in character; but though apparently instituted for fiscal and political objects, they nevertheless possessed immense economic significance. In after ages, the craft gilds came to take a very prominent place in the life of mediæval towns; they were formed to serve a useful purpose, and were called into being under municipal authority; at a still later date, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, there was a great development of local industrial associations, reconstituted or instituted with royal or parliamentary sanction; and even though modern trades unions have no direct historical connection with the mediæval gilds, they may still be regarded as the analogous creations of a different period. When we consider how complicated English industrial organisation has become, there is a good reason for noting its earliest phases.

Even at the time when the first craft-gilds were thus

into municipal institutions. It is quite possible that this was the original character of the gilds or *collegia* in the ancient world, but there is no reason to trace their development in England in this fashion. The migratory royal household would hardly throw off a baking department in London, or weaving departments in other towns. It seems more probable that the aliens introduced a type of association with which they had long been familiar, and utilised it originally in order to obtain political status.

formed in England, the institution was already venerable ; how far its germs can be traced backwards in antiquity we need not discuss. It will suffice if we notice that under the Roman empire the *collegia* emerged from the position of secret societies, and attained a considerable measure of public recognition. It is quite possible that some of them survived in the southern towns of France, even if their alleged claim to a continuous existence in Paris and Rouen be disallowed. It seems, however, that as the imperial and episcopal towns of Flanders and Germany were planted, these institutions took root within them ; they appear to have attained such high development and to have been so much specialised at the close of the twelfth century in some continental towns, as to make it highly probable that the Norman and Flemish artisans, who flocked to this country, were already habituated to this type of industrial organisation. These immigrant weavers appear to have been the agency by which an institution, that had developed under the Roman empire, was transplanted to England ; when thus introduced it found itself on congenial soil and flourished greatly. It certainly seems as if these early associations had contributed their quota to the earliest pieces of industrial legislation. The assize of bread, and the assize of cloth are among the earliest instances of the regulation of industry by national authority ; and these may well be the rules which were laid down by these earliest craft-gilds for the guidance of their members. In later days, the experience of gilds was apparently drawn on, in the framing of industrial laws ; and there is at least an

interest in observing that the earliest ordinances for the regulation of a craft occur in connection with trades where organisation had begun to appear.

On our municipal constitution the aliens have left trace of their influence by the institution of the mayoralty. The towns of the Anglo-Saxon period were in character thickly populated hundreds, or villages, rather than towns in our acceptation of the word; but during the hundred years that followed the Norman Conquest there was a great increase in the importance of the towns, and throughout the twelfth century the inhabitants were, in many cases, struggling to obtain municipal independence. Advances in the direction of civic liberty had been made, where the townspeople had gained the right of dealing direct with the crown in fiscal matters, and of assessing and collecting their payments without interference from outside authority; or where they had control over the trade of their town, and the privilege of having a gild merchant had been conferred. The burgesses sought to complete their independence by securing the right to elect their own officers, to exclude the sheriff from their courts, and to direct their own government. Possibly the English boroughs were stimulated to rebel against outside interference by knowledge of a struggle, which was taking place contemporaneously upon the continent, where the inhabitants of the towns fought for and won freedom from the tyranny of their over-lords.

The name mayor is suggestive of foreign influence. The towns of Normandy vested their affairs in the hands of "un maire, douze échevins, douze conseillers, et soixante

quinze pairs,"¹ and immigrants from Normandy must have made this type of municipal organisation familiar to the townspeople among whom they settled. It is therefore not surprising to find that when the English burghesses sought to express their corporate existence, they borrowed the form of the commune, and gave to their new and elected chief officer the title, derived from France, of mayor.

(iii.) When we pass from the sphere of the household and the municipality to the government of the realm, we cannot but note the indications of foreign influence on various departments of administrative life. Even under the Confessor many of the offices of state had been filled by foreigners, and it was only to be expected that the line, which had been adopted at that period, should be followed more steadily in the time of the Conqueror.²

(a) It may be traced first of all in the organisation of the Exchequer; this was, according to the author of the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, derived from Normandy; and this view is confirmed by an examination of the earlier *Pipe Rolls*. The Norman mode of reckoning, by shillings of twelve pence and pounds, is everywhere in use; though the amounts to be reckoned are in many cases traditional payments in marks and ounces, the foreign mode of reckoning was superimposed upon the ancient obligations. There was perhaps no more important point than this in regard to which the laws of

¹ Thierry, *Tableau de l'ancienne France municipale*, in *Essai sur l'histoire du Tiers état* (1876), p. 241.

² Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, i. 292.

the Normans superseded those of Wessex, of Mercia, and of the Danelagh, at the time of the Conquest.¹

(b) The great fiscal work of the Conqueror's reign—the making of *Domesday Book*—was an undertaking which may be ascribed with high probability to foreign influence. It is true that the attempt was not wholly novel; the constant comparison between the hidation under Edward and that at the time of the Conqueror, shows quite clearly that there was no definite change in the method of rating adopted throughout the greater part of England between these dates. The number of hides or carucates, at which the land had been assessed under Edward, could be compared with those at which it was rated under William. But when we remember how deeply Norman influence had permeated the court in the time of the Confessor, this need not surprise us. The survey was a serious attempt to put on record the available resources for purposes of taxation, to give definite information as to the various quota which different tenants could contribute, and thus to put the burdens to be borne on a definite basis. When this was done, the king knew what he might hope to obtain, and the tenant was to some extent protected from arbitrary taxation; it was an advantage to both parties, and William was wise in putting it into effect.

The whole of the circumstances in which William was placed recall the condition of affairs when Augustus was called to rule the Roman Empire, and set himself to re-

¹ Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 176.

organise the finances of the provinces. They had been the subjects of unblushing extortion, and the only means of guarding against the evil was to take an inventory of the actual resources of each estate in each province. The likeness between the circumstances of each case, and the expedient devised to meet them, makes it difficult to believe that the *Liber Censualis* of William and the census of Augustus were wholly independent.

The first census was taken in the year of our Lord's birth; there is no record of its exact nature, but it undoubtedly consisted of an enumeration of the provincial populations and an estimate of the provincial estates, and was made to ensure due returns from the taxes on the land and people.¹ This inquiry was repeated by the successors of Augustus, and a census of the provinces was taken at fixed intervals; though opinion is divided as to the length of period which elapsed between each.² In the Justinian code we have the articles of enquiry as they were set forth in the third, and codified in the sixth century of our era.³ The traditional arrangement of the census would linger on in all imperial provinces where the Roman administration was not entirely subverted.⁴

¹ Rodbertus, in *Jahrbuch für Nationalökonomie* (Jena, 1865), p. 145 *seq.*

² Unger, *Inscription on Census in Leipsiger Studien* (Georg Curtius, Leipsig, 1887), vol. x. pp. 64-69.

³ Rodbertus, in *Jahrbuch für Nationalökonomie*, 1865, p. 258. *Digest*, lib. l. tit. xv. 4: *Forma Censualis*.

⁴ "C'étaient les débris de l'impôt romain, dont la routine s'était perpétuée, à travers tous les changements de pouvoir." Bordier et Charton, *Histoire de France*, i. 205. See also pp. 139, 151.

The capitularies have some indications which seem to show that these elaborate surveys were not wholly forgotten. The enquiries into dilapidations in 807,¹ the inventories of ecclesiastical goods in 797,² also the inquest into imperial and ecclesiastical possessions in 819 and 829,³ may be referred to; while the *Capitulare Aquisgranense*⁴ seems to show that such surveys were made of all estates. We may again compare the formulæ of an inventory and extent⁵ of Charles with those which were in vogue in the time of Augustus and the Conqueror, and there will be still higher probability that William and his administrators were only following an imperial example, and giving effect to the imperial tradition, when they set about compiling the survey.

As Mr. Hyde Clark argues: "Instead of Domesday Book having been modelled on some anterior English formula of Edward the Confessor or his predecessors, as assumed, the appearance is that Domesday may have been arranged on some Norman model. The Norman balliages as divisions existed T.R.E., and so did their administrative system. The English shires were assimilated to the balliages, but the conditions did not correspond. The Normans in Normandy took possession of territories which had been administered by the Romans, and provided with men competent to write Latin, and this foreign language was adopted by the Normans as their administrative language. T.R.E. the population of

¹ Pertz, *Legum*, i. 148.

² Pertz, *Legum*, i. 175, n.

³ Pertz, *Legum*, i. 227, 354.

⁴ Pertz, *Legum*, i. 171.

⁵ Pertz, *Legum*, i. 176.

England, spoke and wrote English. When the Normans came here, English was foreign to them, and for their administration they continued to use Latin, working by means of continental monks and scribes. This state of affairs favours a foreign origin for Domesday. An antecedent record would have been written in English.”¹ The Normans had come in contact with the tradition of the Roman census, and Norman administrators seem to have introduced it into the realm of England; just as the tradition of the Roman *collegia* had survived, and Flemish weavers introduced it into English towns.

(c) There is some reason then for arguing that the taxation of real property was based on a model derived from pagan Rome, but it is at least clear that the taxation of moveables under Henry II. was directly copied from the scheme of papal taxation.² The revenue of England had been entirely derived from the land till Henry II., after the fall of Jerusalem, was empowered to levy a tithe on goods, to be devoted to a new Crusade. It was by papal permission, and by means of papal officials, that this tax was collected; but a precedent was set which enabled the crown to have recourse to this form of taxation again and again. A similar method was adopted for raising the revenue by Richard I., and all through the thirteenth century fractional parts of the possessions of the subject were collected to relieve the necessities of the crown. At last the demands came to be systematised with the

¹ Hyde Clark, *Note on the Order of Domesday Book*, in *Domesday Studies*, 1891, vol. ii. pp. 388, 389.

² Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, i. 528, 622, 3. *Select Charters*, p. 160.

consent of parliament into a fixed sum, which continued to be called the tenths and fifteenths, and lasted till the time of Charles I. The taxation of land was reorganised by the aliens, and they also originated the taxation of moveables so far as England was concerned.

12. Some allusion has already been made to the new industrial arts which were introduced by the immigrants, as they furnish evidence both in regard to the distribution and the status of aliens who settled here. It is worth while to notice what an extraordinary development occurred, in connection with the trades which were thus introduced at the Conquest, before the next wave of foreign immigration set in. We may notice it in regard to building, weaving, and mercantile pursuits during the thirteenth century.

(i.) There is a marked difference between the stone building which survives from the time before the Conquest, and that which we find in Norman and Angevin times. Pre-Norman masonry was rough in execution, and in design it reproduced the forms of wooden structures; it contrasts most strikingly with the beautiful masonry of the Norman churches and castles. When we examine the relics which remain, we find that these buildings were very widely distributed throughout the country; the castles and abbeys, which were erected in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, may be counted by hundreds; and the parish churches by thousands. The Abbey of Evesham was being built at the time the Domesday survey was taken; and the close parallelism in the improvements and the changes of fashion in the art of building as prac-

tised on each side of the Channel, during the next two centuries, serves to prove that there was constant intercourse between England and the continent. Much of the building stone which was used came from Caen, and some of the workmen were probably drawn from the same district. Flemish masons were also in high repute; they were employed by Bishop Poor at Salisbury; and there is reason to believe that some of them had a hand in the erection of Llandaff Cathedral and Caerphilly Castle.¹ When the citizens of London were about to rebuild their bridges in the beginning of the thirteenth century they were recommended by King John to secure the services of Iselbert, who was Master of the Masons' School at Saintonge;² he had already executed similar undertakings at Rochelle and elsewhere. The art had been planted long before, and it was making rapid progress, but even in the thirteenth century Englishmen were accustomed to rely on the advice or example of aliens in their more important works.

(ii.) The development of the weaving trade was equally striking; England was well supplied with the necessary materials, and there is at least one indication that a development of sheep-farming began immediately after the Conquest; it is certain that the Cistercians who were were settled here took up this business vigorously. There was also a good supply of teasels for dressing the cloth, and we can trace different stages in the growth of the

¹ Harris, in *Archæologia*, ii. 12.

² 3. John, *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium* (Record), 9 b.

industry. At the time of the Conquest it was a domestic occupation, and the cloth which was exposed for sale seems to have been imported from abroad; as we have seen, in the time of Henry I. and Henry II., there were guilds of weavers who were manufacturing for the market; and the attempts to regulate and organise the trade, as well as the increase in the specialisation and in the subsidiary arts of dyeing and fulling, testify to the progress that had been made. We find that in the thirteenth century the export of English cloth had begun, as it found its way to Spain; while there had also been such progress that an attempt could be made to secure a monopoly of the home market for the product of English looms. Towards the close of the century active steps were taken, not only to foster our own manufactures, but to strike a blow at the old-established industry of Flanders; the prohibition of the export of wool in the beginning of Edward I's. reign may have been chiefly dictated by political motives, but the prohibition of the export of teasels by Edward II. was apparently intended to give English manufacturers the full enjoyment of a special advantage at the expense of their continental rivals. Incidental references show that the trade had established itself at many different centres; and though the London gild at all events still survived, the chief part in the regulation of the size and quality of goods produced was committed to a royal official, who exercised supervision throughout the length and breadth of the land.

(iii.) There was, however, a far more widely-reaching change which was gradually working its way into all the

relations of life, and which ought to be associated with the incursion of alien merchants. Buying and selling were being carried on much more generally throughout the country, and money was being used to define mutual obligations even when payments were made in kind. It is of course obvious that the use of coins was familiar enough before the Conquest; but it is also clear that the opportunities for trade became much more frequent with the rise of fairs; and when money came to be essential for paying the royal taxation, it was necessary that every manorial lord should have the means of procuring the coin of the realm. The thorough introduction of a monetary system of taxation, at a time when natural economy held its own in such large departments of agriculture and industry, was only possible through the intervention of a class of moneyed men, who acted as financial intermediaries. They were prepared to supply money, either on loan or by purchasing produce, to those who were called on for some unexpected payment at a time when their hoards were exhausted. They were also able to advance money to the king, or to undertake the business of farming the revenue. The sheriffs of this period did business which was similar to that of the publicani under the Roman republic; the Domesday record had to some extent minimised their opportunities of extortion, but the trading centres were eager to be free from their interference and the possibility of oppression. The names of these leading financiers, and some records of their transactions, are partially preserved in the *Pipe Rolls*. It is clear that Henry II., in the earlier years of his reign, had constantly

to receive assistance from William Cade; while in the fourth year he had obtained advances from so many of the sheriffs that one after another was credited with a balance in his favour.¹ That many of these financiers were aliens is clear enough; and indeed it appears that the Jews were deliberately introduced to help to supply this function in the social system of the day. The collection of papal revenue involved similar transactions; it was chiefly in the hands of the Caorsine and Florentine bankers, and the payment to Italy was apparently made by means of wool.² There was also frequent occasion for the transmission of bullion in connection with the military operations of the time; this opened up a profitable line of business, in which the Knights Templars among others were actively engaged.³ Money was generally required, but it was not circulating in such quantities that it was readily available; and those who were wealthy had great opportunities of doing business which was always profitable and not infrequently extortionate. It appears that practically the whole of this business was in the hands of foreigners; and from this the important consequence follows, that for all matters of commercial practice and money account we are indebted to aliens. We owe, too, our instruments of credit to the merchants who acted as the papal agents in England. As has been stated, the Florentines exported wool instead of specie, and raised the money to meet the

¹ Habet de superplus, *Pipe Roll*, 4 Henry II. (Record).

² *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (1896), i. 624.

³ L. Delisle, *Opérations financières des Templiers*, in *Acad. des Inscriptions*, t. xxxiii.

papal claims by the sale of the wool in Italy. Modern bills of exchange may be said to have their origin in the methods which they devised to obviate the exportation of bullion.

The letter of credit was derived from the same source. The increased inter-communication between England and the continent under the Angevin kings made the journeys of ambassadors and important officials more frequent. The growth of papal power during the reigns of John and Henry III. resulted in greater intercourse with Rome; and the numerous suits touching ecclesiastical possessions in England, which were heard at the papal courts, necessitated the presence of English representatives. All who travelled had to face the same problem,—the difficulty of carrying with them sufficient money to meet their requirements on their way; the solution of the difficulty lay in the letter of credit. Examples of its employment are numerous in the thirteenth century, and are to be found as early as the twelfth.¹

As noted above, foreign influence is seen to some extent in the method of computation that came into vogue and that is uniformly adopted in accounts. The English agriculturist, who computed acres by perches, roods and acres, was accustomed to reckon payments by corresponding multiples, of pence, half-nobles (40d.) and marks (13s. 4d.), and colloquially this terminology was long maintained; but the mode of reckoning to which the Norman administrators and financiers were accustomed,

¹ E. A. Bond, in *Archæologia*, xxviii. pp. 217, 219, 261.

seems to have been adopted from the first in written accounts and gradually superseded the native system.

The influence aliens exercised in commercial transactions is also exemplified in our ordinary measure of weight. The Spanish merchants who came to buy wool appear to have complained that the method of weighing in ordinary use was unsatisfactory, and begged that the *avoir-du-pois* weights should be introduced.¹ This mode of reckoning may have been introduced into the Spanish peninsula by the Goths or by the Arabs; at all events we can specify the period when it was first adopted in England; it is interesting to note that the complications which distinguish our country from those which have adopted the decimal system, are chiefly due to the fact that we have adhered to various competing systems which were originally introduced from abroad.

¹ *Rot. Parl.* i. 47 (27) in 1290; i. 382 (228) in 1314. English measures were recently in vogue for some branches of commerce at Santiago. A. Martini, *Metrologia*, 718.

THE LATER MIDDLE AGES



THE HOSTMAN'S SEAL

III

THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

13. THE immigrations of aliens, which took place during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were very varied in character; strangers flocked here from distant parts of Europe, as well as from the neighbouring lands, and there were many distinct reasons which attracted them to our island. But for all that, it is convenient to treat the period as a whole; it is distinguished by well-marked features from the age that preceded, and from the period that followed. After the Reformation, the existence of religious differences was one of the main elements which determined the direction taken by the stream of

immigration; but in the later Middle Ages there was little practical distinction between the religious conditions of the various parts of Western Christendom, and this reason for immigration had not yet come into operation. On the other hand, the political and military ambitions, which had been the main motive in the immigrations of Norman and Angevin times, no longer drew men to England. Our land had too long been a prey to Norse adventurers and Flemish mercenaries; but the time for their incursions and ravages, and subsequent settlement, was over; France and Germany were to be in turn the scene of civil war, and to be pillaged by foreign soldiers; even in the Wars of the Roses, there were few military adventurers who found their way across the Channel. In the earlier period, and also in the Post-Reformation time, we have to trace out the indirect economic effects of the immigrations that were mainly due to political or religious causes; but in the later Middle Ages, industrial or commercial motives were the principal incentives to the settlement of aliens on our shores. In all the diversity of the story of this long period, stretching over more than two centuries of the history of immigration, there is this common feature, that we have to do primarily with economic and not with political or religious history.

The political history cannot, however, be wholly ignored; for it was only where there were favourable political conditions, that the economic causes were free to operate. The close political relations, which existed between England and Flanders and England and Gascony during a

considerable part of this period, rendered commercial and industrial intercourse—and immigration—much more easy than it would otherwise have been. On the other hand, the bitter hostility between England and Scotland had a marked effect on the industrial development of the northern part of Britain. In the Norman and Angevin times, the wave of alien immigration had spread northwards, and Scotland had been affected, in a degree and at a later time, by the same causes as were operating in England. After the Scottish War of Independence, this was no longer the case; the severance between the two parts of the country was so complete, that the progressive elements, which were introduced into England at this time, hardly penetrated into Scotland at all. After the Reformation and the Union of the Kingdoms, the course of immigration into both parts of the island comes to be similar once more. But during the later Middle Ages, they were entirely distinct; the political condition and political connections of Scotland were different from those of England; and the story of such alien immigration as occurred in the north must be told separately, and can be told shortly.

These reasons may suffice for the chronological division which has been adopted; but it is worth while to add a few words to point the contrast between the Norman immigration, as we have considered it, and that in the period on which we are now entering. The Norman immigration was a flood which swept over the whole country, and which, as it settled down, left its marks in every district and on every side of life. The immigration in the four-

teenth and fifteenth centuries consisted of a series of little streamlets which trickled to one district or another, but left other districts quite unaffected. As each movement was thus restricted in area, so was the influence exercised during this period definite, but limited; at the time of the Conquest, England was a backward country, which had much to learn from foreigners; and though it was still backward economically at the opening of the fourteenth century, it was not behind-hand so far as political and administrative life were concerned. The problem of good government had been better solved in England than in any other European country of the day; there were national institutions and laws, which were effective and powerful; while there was ample scope for municipal institutions and local self-government, so far as it was convenient. The constitution had already taken shape, the administration of law and of finance was being effectively organised; much of this had been introduced by aliens from abroad, but we had already incorporated and made it our own; they might come and help to work our system, but it was so completely established that it was not easy to modify it. The influence of the immigrants of this period was merely economic, but as an economic influence it was of first-rate importance. The foundations of our fiscal and administrative system had been already laid by aliens; and during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, they did not a little to prepare for our coming industrial greatness. The special character and outcome of the immigrations at this time renders it convenient to look at the matter mainly from an economic standpoint,

and to consider different sides of commercial and industrial life in turn.

i. *Finance.*

14. In the thirteenth century natural economy still prevailed throughout England¹ for many purposes; but the superior convenience of money was recognised, and taxes were no longer paid in kind. A large supply of coinage was requisite for the barons to enable them to meet the claims made by the Exchequer, and to defray the expenses of expeditions undertaken as Crusaders, or in the service of the Crown. Moneyed men who had silver to lend found an active demand for the accommodation they could afford. Beyond the actual lending of money, there was emolument to be found in the transmission of the same to the place where it was wanted for political and military purposes. Such occasions were the opportunities of the financier. Englishmen lacked both the wealth and the skill which would have enabled them to minister to these necessities; and Jews and Lombards, with a genius for finance, were not slow to avail themselves of the chances by which Englishmen failed to benefit. Hence, aliens had the monopoly, at first, of the financial dealings of the country. The history of English finance during the fourteenth century is, to a great extent, the story of the change by which this class of business was diverted from their hands. If we could follow it in detail, we might see how Englishmen learnt, from

¹ See above, page 48.

aliens, to conduct monetary transactions for which they had previously neither the means nor the aptitude.

The Jews were our earliest money-lenders. In the twelfth century they formed a widely spread agency for loans through the country; for Jewries were to be found in most of the principal towns, such as London, York, Norwich, Colchester, Lincoln, and Leicester, and it is computed that the number of those who were expelled from England, in 1290, exceeded fifteen thousand.

Allusion has already been made to the relations existing between the Jewish settlers and the municipalities in which they lived. The dislike and suspicion with which aliens were wont to be regarded in the towns was particularly bitter in the case of the Jews. Not only were they non-burgesses, but non-burgesses whose presence was a pretext for the interference of royal officials, and a consequent menace to the liberties of the community.¹ Their status marked them out for the animosity of their neighbours, and served to augment the aversion evoked by racial peculiarities and extortionate dealings; while the evils of their position were aggravated by the zeal of the crusaders, which gave rise to frequent onslaughts upon Jewish infidels.

It is true that, though they were attacked by the people, they were protected by the Crown; but they were protected only to be plundered. Every step taken to shield and uphold the Jews, merely strengthened the

¹ Abrahams, *The Expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290* (1895), pp. 17-20.

power of the Crown over them. As the persecutions increased, they were met by further precautions for the safety of the life and property of the Jews; and public chests were established in the towns where they resided, in which their bonds were to be kept.¹ Security was thus provided for Jewish possessions against all except the King himself. The Jews had the royal support in the exaction of their usurious gains; but the King had as little compunction in seizing the wealth, which they had extorted, as he had scruple in upholding these usurers against his subjects. They were liable to tallages and fines of various kinds, which were frequent and heavy. There was no redress; it was better for the Jews to yield their money than, by resistance, to bring upon themselves both poverty and imprisonment. The position of the King, as their guardian, remained unaltered until the middle of the thirteenth century. Then certain forces came into operation, which impelled a change of policy, and eventually brought about the expulsion of 1290.

This anti-Jewish policy first declared itself in the concession which Henry III. made in favour of the citizen class. To pacify the opposition of the municipalities, which had been shown in widely spread struggles for the exclusion of the Jews,² an enactment was made in 1245, which restricted them to residence in places where

¹ Madox, *Exchequer*, i. 240.

² The inhabitants of Leicester induced Simon de Montfort to expel them from that town. Thompson, *Leicester* (1849), p. 72. For other towns, where similar action was taken, see Abrahams, *Expulsion of the Jews from England* (1895), p. 20.

Jewries already existed.¹ The King was also obliged to yield to the pressure brought to bear upon him by the barons for the severer treatment of the Jews. Individual nobles had grievances against them. In many cases estates had been given as security for a loan, and the owners had failed to redeem their lands. But it was an aim of the baronial party as a whole to end the alliance between the Crown and these Jewish financiers; by them the King was furnished with supplies, which, in great measure, left his action unfettered by the control of the national council. The surest means to the attainment of their end was the impoverishment of the Jews. Their wealth had been diminished by heavy demands made upon them.² Shut out from many towns, their opportunities of enrichment were further restricted, in 1269-70, by two measures, which virtually precluded them from having any transactions with landowners.³ In future, no estate was to be pledged to a Jew, nor was he to take the rental of any land as security; these were the very securities which had been generally given for loans.

Despite these restrictions, the Jews remained too serviceable to be cast off, and Henry III. would not yield to the demands which were made for their suppression by

¹ Madox, *Exchequer*, i. 249, note i.

² An example of the absolute manner in which the King controlled the Jews is furnished by the fact that he sometimes pledged the Jews and their chattels as security for loans. Thus, a certain Jew was pledged in return for a loan of 5000 marks to Richard of Cornwall by Henry III. Madox, *Exchequer*, i. 230.

³ Abrahams, *The Expulsion of the Jews from England* (1895), pp. 28, 29, quoting Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, 175-7.

yet another body.¹ The Church had always protested against usury; and in the thirteenth century² active measures were taken against the Jews who practised it.

It was left to Edward to pursue the course of action enjoined by the clergy. Circumstances made him more willing to acquiesce in this policy than his predecessor had been. The Jews had themselves pointed out to the magnates that there was another source from which the King could obtain the loans with which they were no longer able to supply him. They had begged that they might be allowed to leave the country, and that the King would have recourse to the wealthy Lombards, who had supplanted them.³ Though the loss of Jewish contributions must have seriously affected the pecuniary position of the Crown, the King knew that, in the Italian merchants, he had other usurers upon whom he could rely. At the beginning of his reign, the Jews were practically debarred from carrying on their business; and after his accession⁴ it was made illegal for them to practise usury. But while he laid this disability upon them, Edward I. avoided unnecessary harshness. He

¹ Henry III. did expel the Caorsine usurers at the instigation of the Church. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* (R. S.), iv. 8.

² On the decrees of Ecclesiastical Councils and the attitude and action of the Church with regard to the Jews see *Corpus Juris Canonici*, D. G., ix. lib. v. tit. vi., also my *Growth of Industry and Commerce* (1896), i. 206, 286. Abrahams, *Expulsion of the Jews*, pp. 81, 82.

³ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* (R. S.), v. 441, 487.

⁴ *Statutes of Jewry. Statutes of the Realm* (Record), i. 221.

adopted the expedient of retaining them, in the hope that they would follow other callings. This attempt, as all other attempts, to absorb the Jews into the population, proved futile. They persisted in their usury, or gained a livelihood by clipping the coin and other fraudulent means. The ill-success of this policy showed that the Jews were likely to remain what they had hitherto been, a disturbing element. As such they would have been inimical to the promotion of uniformity and order. There was another method of dealing with them, and Edward I. followed it in banishing them; they had been driven out of France more than twenty years earlier.¹

The work which had been done by the Jews was continued by the Templars and the Lombards; within a few years of their foundation, the Templars had amassed great riches.² Their wealth enabled them to carry on a profitable banking business; they could pay out of their hoards in the Temple of Paris a sum of money in consideration of a payment received in the Temple at London. They did not long remain to benefit by the misfortune which had overtaken their Jewish competitors. In 1307 the great military order was attacked; Edward II. did not at once fall in with the schemes of the Pope and the King of France, but he did not give effective protection. The order of the Templars was broken up; though a portion

¹ Abrahams, *The Expulsion of the Jews from England* (1895), p. 38. This was in 1253.

² Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* (R. S.), ii. 144. On the whole subject, see Delisle, *op. cit.*

of their wealth eventually came into the hands of the Hospitallers, their business connection and opportunities for finance seem to have come to an end.

The Lombards were left to carry on nearly all the financial operations of the country. In the thirteenth century there was a great demand for English wool in Italy, and the merchants of Florence, Lucca, and Sienna found that they could easily combine a lucrative trade in this product with the business of receiving and forwarding the papal revenue. With the profits which accrued, they negotiated loans with the religious houses in England and the King's subjects. On the continent, they found further scope in financing royal ambassadors and private individuals, for whom the King was willing to become surety. Such loans were advanced upon the strength of obligatory letters drawn upon the English Exchequer. Their share in royal finance rapidly increased as the military undertakings of Henry III. and his successors involved the Crown in greater difficulties. Constant wars resulted in constant recourse to the Lombards, and under Edward III., to the Florentine companies of the Bardi and Peruzzi in particular.

Throughout the course of their negotiations, the Italian merchants seem to have obtained good securities for their loans. Lands and estates were pledged by private individuals; while the papal agents were able to procure wool at an advantageous price from monasteries to which they had made advances of money. The conditions upon which dealings were carried on with the government varied. Generally the customs were farmed out to the

financiers,¹ or certain portions of the revenue² were allotted to them. Sometimes high officials of state became sureties for the debts of the Crown,³ or ecclesiastical corporations were pledged to repayment.⁴ In the exaction of their bonds the Lombards had a strong position; for as papal agents, they had, in the Pope, a protector who could enforce their claims. As regards their dealings, they were hardly more righteous than the Jews, for they took usury covertly upon various pretexts.

In 1345 the royal demands upon the Italian merchants were so excessive that the Bardi and several other leading firms were ruined. The precise story of the failure has not been recorded as fully as might be desired; Parliament only took notice of the matter by petitioning that the goods of the Italians, who had left the country, might be assigned to their debtors.⁵ We thus find that within a period of about sixty years, the whole of the agencies by which finance had been carried on were swept away, and a large field was left open for the operations of other dealers.

In some respects this field may have been partially restricted; coinage was coming into freer circulation; payment in service and kind was less frequent, and money transactions were becoming more general throughout the country. The difficulty of procuring money for

¹ E. A. Bond, *Archæologia*, xxviii. p. 231.

² *Ibid.*, p. 231, n., p. 280, No. lxxxiii. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 271, No. xliiv.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 268, No. xxxiii.

⁵ *Rot. Parl.*, ii. 240 (xxi.).

any special purpose would be less; but on the other hand, the opportunities for the profitable employment of money, in trade and even in industry, were becoming more frequent; so that on the whole, while the persons who had monopolised the financial business were disappearing, the openings for successful business of the kind were increasing.

There was one body of aliens who appear to have come to England in order to take advantage of this opening.¹ Several Flemings had established themselves as Bankers in London, and were prepared to make a loan to the government on the security of taxes, which were about to be levied at an unusual rate; but they were not able to prosecute this business for long. They appear to have been the victims of the jealousy of the city magnates, who were at no pains to restrain the fury of the mob; thirteen of them, who had taken refuge in the church of the Augustinian Friars, were ruthlessly slaughtered; while the rioters were more judicial in their attack on the colony at Southwark. Following a scriptural precedent, they tested the unhappy Flemings by their ability to say "Bread and Cheese," and all who failed to come up to the orthodox London pronunciation, were promptly executed.² Though we hear of individuals who had con-

¹ The merchants of Lovagne (Louvain) obtained fresh privileges in London in 1338, before the Italian collapse. *Rymer*, ii. 1056.

² E. Van Bruyssel, *Histoire du Commerce en Belgique* (1861-8), ii. 18. Allen, *History of London*, i. 126. Varenbergh, *Histoire des relations diplomatiques entre le comté de Flandre et l'Angleterre*, (1874), p. 423.

siderable dealings with the Crown, it seems safe to affirm that the business which had been done by foreign financiers was not largely transferred to other aliens, but was on the whole taken up by Englishmen, and done by them with success. The financial arrangements which were necessitated by Edward's French wars were, from the time of the battle of Crécy, mostly carried out by men of English birth, though they copied the methods which had been introduced by foreigners.

15. It is difficult to follow out the complicated fiscal transactions of the time; but this one fact lies on the surface, that Edward III. tried to find the necessary supplies by securing and exporting quantities of wool. It was by means of wool that the heavy papal taxation was conveyed abroad, and he endeavoured to adopt the same expedient. He was empowered in 1337 to purchase 30,000 sacks, and for this purpose, merchants acted as his agents. They ran very little risk, as they were secured against loss by sea, etc., and were to have half the profits on the transaction as their commission;¹ and if the figures given by Knighton are correct, there was a large margin of gain for all parties concerned.²

In the following year, King Edward obtained, not merely a special power of pre-emption, but a grant of 20,000 sacks of wool, which was to be taken up, trans-

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, ii., 989.

² Knighton (R. S.), ii. p. 1. They bought for nine marks and sold for £20 in Brabant. Rymer, *Fœdera*, ii. 988. Ordinary trading was much disorganised, as the King impressed all ships for the service of transport.

ported and sold on his behalf in Flanders. The King secured a monopoly by prohibiting other purchasers from buying and exporting wool till he was served;¹ but apparently he defeated his purpose, as the wool did not come in at all, and after more than one urgent letter² he was forced to adopt the strong course of taking it up wherever he found it.³ In 1340 he again obtained a permission to buy up a quantity of wool,⁴ and very elaborate arrangements were made for the purchase of the right proportion in each county at a special price, for the payment of customs and for the delivery of the price of wool.⁵ At the same time King Edward appears to have assigned a portion of this wool as security in connection with a financial transaction by which the royal jewels were taken out of pawn.⁶

The commercial part of these transactions appears to

¹ Rymer, ii. 1022. ² *Ibid.*, ii. 1051.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 1054. Cf. also *R. P.*, ii. 182 (27): Bruton. It was possibly at this juncture that the wool of English merchants at Dordrecht was seized. William de la Pole was the King's agent at Antwerp at this time. Fox Bourne, *English Merchants* (1886), vol. i. p. 61 and refs.

⁴ *Rot. Parl.*, ii. 118 (10). Apparently the merchants were to pay one mark less than the usual price to the wool-owner, and also 40s. per sack custom.

⁵ *Rot. Parl.*, ii. 120 (18-25). About 4,900 sacks of wool were at once arranged for, but letters had to be written to merchants in all parts of the realm to get the contracts taken up to the full extent required.

⁶ *Rot. Parl.*, ii. 121 (26). The Bardi and Peruzzi undertook at this time to consolidate the King's debts, and seem to have taken up wool on his behalf, for which they could not pay, as the King did not discharge his debt to them. *Rot. Parl.*, ii. 143 (58).

have been almost entirely carried out by English merchants. In the preceding century Italians had had a large part in such business, and one third of the export trade from Hull¹ had been done by them. They appear, however, to have concentrated their attention more and more on banking business,² while Englishmen succeeded to the wool trade. Reginald Conduct, William de la Pole,³ and Walter Cheriton were the King's agents in these dealings; and alike in the appeals made for contractors to carry out the work, and in the current complaints of oppression by the King's agent⁴ and by rich merchants, it is chiefly of Englishmen that we hear.

The records of these special transactions enable us to see who were the leading men in this business throughout the country; that there were a certain number of alien buyers as well is true enough. Edward III., in his anxiety to conciliate his Flemish allies, gave them special permission in 1337 to visit England and purchase the wool which was necessary for the manufacturers in each town and district; and when the Staple for wool was held in England, as occasionally occurred, the actual

¹ Fox Bourne, *English Merchants* (1866), p. 54.

² An analogy may be drawn with the Fuggers and other South German millionaires in the sixteenth century. Compare Ehrenberg, *Hamburg und England* (1896), p. 2.

³ Rymer, II. ii. p. 988; II. ii. p. 1114. Fox Bourne, *English Merchants*, vol. i. pp. 60, 61.

⁴ On Walter of Cheriton and his companions, compare *Rot. Parl.*, ii. pp. 169, 170: Nos. 38, 39, 49, with *Rot. Parl.*, ii. 173 (68). It was not till the good Parliament of 1376 that redress was finally given. *Ibid.*, 365.

export trade would be more generally in the hands of alien merchants. But the trade as organised in 1353, and as it centred at Calais, was conducted by the merchants of the Staple, who combined to some extent the duty of collecting the royal revenue with the private enterprise of buying and exporting wool. From the date of the reorganisation of the Staple, there seem to have been fewer attempts on the part of the King to obtain profits as a trader;¹ and there was less irregularity in the conditions for private trade, and in the rates at which customs were levied. So far as private ventures were concerned, the English woolstaplers had a better chance of steady trade in known conditions; but there was also a good deal of financial business which came into their hands. The wool had to be officially weighed in order that the proper customs might be charged, and considerable fees were obtained by the officials who had custody of this *trone* or wool beam.² Those who were engaged in the collection of customs were able to obtain a considerable commission,³ while the official position of these merchants gave them opportunities for speculating in wool to great advantage.⁴ As the manufacture of cloth

¹ There was, however, a case in 1347 when 20,000 sacks were impressed as a loan. *Rot. Parl.*, ii. 166, 11. Rymer, *Fœdera*, iii. 116, 122, 130, 131.

² In regard to difficulties arising in connection with weighing see *Rot. Parl.*, ii. 241 (36), and 312 (23).

³ It is said that the customs for wool amounted in one year under Edward III. to £68,000. 27 Henry VI. c. 2. In the Tudor times the Venetian ambassador said that about half the customs levied leaked out in the process of collection.

⁴ See below, p. 97.

in England developed, the trade in the raw product gradually declined;¹ but during the fourteenth century and beginning of the fifteenth, it still afforded ample opportunities for a profitable business which was done by Englishmen and in which aliens no longer took a prominent part.

16. While the transmission of money had thus passed from the management of aliens to that of natives, a similar change was occurring in the supply of the royal necessities; these were coming to be met more and more by English bankers. Edward III.'s attempt in 1340 to borrow money from the city magnates in London was not a success; he wished to get £20,000, but was only able to procure £5,000 on the security of the Crown jewels;² in 1351 the city made a loan of 20,000 marks, and obtained the farm of their own customs;³ but during the next half century the practice came more and more into vogue, and large sums were loaned to Richard II. by various towns and burghs. Private individuals were more ready than municipalities to enter into such transactions. The King's obligations to William de la Pole were enormous; and he was, on one occasion, at least sufficiently public-spirited to obtain a large advance for the Crown at his personal risk, without security of any kind.⁴ Edward III. acknowledged the extent of the service which William

¹ This reacted seriously on the Florentine manufacture of cloth. Villani, *Florence*, vol. vii., p. 208.

² A. Law, *Royal Hist. Soc. Trans.*, N. S., ix. p. 60.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁴ Tickell, *History of Hull*, p. 22, note.

de la Pole had rendered him in the following Letters Patent.

“Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland and Duke of Aquitaine, Know ye, that when our faithful and well-beloved subject, William de la Pole (presently after our coming into the parts on this side of the sea), hearing and understanding that our affairs, for which we took our journey, were, for want of money, very dangerously deferred; and (being sensible of our wants) came in person unto us, and to us and our followers has made and procured to be made such a supply of money, that by his means, our honour, and the honour of our followers, thanks be to God, has been preserved; which otherwise had been exposed to great danger and afterwards the said William, continuing our supply with exceeding bounty, has undertaken the payment of great sums for us to divers persons, and for which, he has engaged himself by bonds and obligations; . . . by whose means, being thus assisted and supplied we got to Hanou, near the marches of France,—but could go no further, our monies there again failing us: and when it was held for certain that our journey was altogether in vain, and our affairs utterly ruined the said William having still a care to relieve our extreme necessity, engaged himself, and his whole estate,—procured for us a great sum of money, and delivered us again out of exceeding great danger.”

His confidence was justified, for with Edward's success he rose in dignity and increased in wealth. There was an outward and visible mark of his success in ousting the

Italian bankers, if, as is alleged, Edward granted him the houses of the Bardi in Lombard Street.¹

John Pulteney, who served the office of Mayor of London four times, was another wealthy ² Englishman who lent money to the Crown. The story of the transactions of such men shows that there was a class of Englishmen who were able to take up the business which was left open by the failure of the Bardi in 1345.³ It is certainly tempting to connect the disappearance of these merchants with the rise of the Livery ⁴ Companies, and especially of the Grocers,⁵ which was incorporated in the very year of the failure of the Bardi; it seems to have laid itself out for administrative business in connection with the import of goods of every kind.⁶ The rapid rise of this Company to power in the city excited the jealousy of other dealers, and their leader, Nicholas Brembre, was intimately

¹ Napier, *Synecombe and Ewelme* (1858), p. 279. There is a difficulty about the matter; the grant is dated by Napier as 26 September, 1339, but the failure of the Bardi did not occur till six years later, and in 1339 they enjoyed the favour of the Crown.

² He endowed a charity in S. Lawrence, Candlewick Street, Rymer, *Fadera*, ii. 841, and was the agent in 1340 for conveying wool for the ransom of William of Montecute from the French. Rymer, *ib.*, iii. 1139. On his loans see A. Law, *Royal Hist. Soc. Trans.*, N. S., ix. 59.

³ *Rot. Parl.*, ii., 240 (21).

⁴ Pulteney was a draper, and W. de la Pole a mercer, of Hull.

⁵ Boccherelli was a member of the Pepperers, the original Italian Warehouseman. J. A. Kingdon, *Archives of Grocers' Company* (1886), I., Introd., xi.

⁶ On the Mercers' and Grocers' Companies, *Growth of Industry and Commerce* (1896), i. 324.

involved in the projects of Richard II. At any rate, the fact that the business of finance was now transferred to English hands, was not only, like the rise of the wool-staplers, a proof of the increasing prosperity of native merchants, but it had a very real constitutional importance. Edward III. had been able to evade the control which Parliament desired to exercise over the finances of the realm by obtaining loans from aliens; when he borrowed from citizens, there was a direct association between the taxpayer and the royal creditor, since both could make themselves heard in Parliament. It is possible that the temporary disgrace of William de la Pole arose from his insistence that the royal revenues should be applied to the most pressing objects, in accordance with sound finance; but this was at least one effect of the change which took place at this time in the sources of royal borrowing.

At the same time it would be a mistake to suppose that the competition of Englishmen and the royal breach of faith served to drive the Italian bankers entirely from the realm. So far as the papal revenue was concerned, they continued to have the principal part in collecting and transmitting it.¹ The Bardi had been acting in this matter early in the reign; and the laws directed against alien merchants in connection with the export of bullion,² in the time of Richard II., seem to show that the collection

¹ On the death of John XXII., they were enjoined by the King to retain the moneys in their hands and not to transmit them. Rymer, *Fœdera*, ii. 899.

² *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (1896), i. p. 895.

of papal revenue remained in their hands; this would be in accordance with the practice of the papal administration generally.¹ It is more curious to find, however, that certain Florentines retained such cordial relations with the King, that they looked to him for protection when they were attacked by Gregory XI.² Edward extended the necessary protection³ to them as "*nostros servos proprios et veros*," and secured their liberty "*ad opus nostrum mercandisare, et commodum nostrum inde facere*." We still find Italians in the city after his time, but they were no longer leaders in English finance; and when we look at their dealings as merchants we shall find that they were doing an entirely different business in the fifteenth century from that which they had pursued in the thirteenth.

ii. *Commerce.*

17. Commercial connections are more likely than any other side of economic life to be influenced by political relationships; this was very noticeable during the fourteenth century. The political ambitions of Edward III. may possibly have been shaped to some extent by practical commercial considerations; but it is at least clear that the continental schemes, which he cherished, helped to determine the conditions of commerce and the terms on which certain aliens were received in this country. Edward III., in asserting a title to the Crown of France, claimed to be sole ruler over the men of Gascony;

¹ Gottlob, *Aus der Camera*, 109.

² Rymer, *Fœdera*, iii. 1050.

³ *Ibid.*, iii. 1071.

he claimed also to be suzerain over the dukes of Burgundy, and therefore over Flanders and Brabant. The men of the Low Countries, like those of the south-west of France, were treated as subjects of the English Crown, though they were foreign to English soil, like natives of India in the present day. Edward's commercial policy was, on the whole, dictated by the desire to propitiate the Flemings and the Gascons, so that he might obtain their support as allies or subjects in securing the recognition of his title to the Crown.¹ The precise form which commercial hostility to aliens took at this period may be said to have turned on this fact; for the London citizens and other Englishmen desired to restrict the privileges which the King was ready to afford to alien subjects of the Crown.

This may be easily illustrated by reference to the branch of trade to which allusion has already been made,—the export trade in wool. Special privileges in the matter of purchasing wool were accorded to the Flemish towns, as the Staple for wool was held at Bruges,² to the advantage of that town, but to the inconvenience of the country purchasers and of Italian merchants, and therefore to the loss of the English grower. But this was not a lasting evil; the organisation of the Staple at Calais, as an

¹ This policy seems to have been dictated by such considerations, though the privileges conferred on aliens in 25 Ed. III., 3, c. 2., were not confined to his continental subjects.

² *Rot. Parl.*, ii. 149 (5), 165 (10), 202 (13). Henry III. and Edward I. had previously given special protections to Flemings who visited England to buy wool. Diegerick, *Inventaire*, No. 52, 102, 176.

ordinary thing, and the development of the English cloth manufacture changed the conditions of trade; and the special privileges of the Flemings were not continued.

With the Gascons the matter was different; from time immemorial wine had been the chief commodity imported into the country, and so soon as the political connection with Gascony was cemented, the trading relations with that vine-growing region seem to have been developed. The question of the status of the Gascon merchants in London was a matter of dispute in the time of Henry III. They, in common with other alien merchants, were favoured by his successor. In the provisions issued for the regulation of the trade in wool and skins in 1291, Edward I. enjoined the people of the towns appointed as marts to abstain from all molestation of merchant strangers; he further ordered that those of Gascony and Guienne, who were under his obedience, should be treated as denizens.¹ In London special opportunity was afforded for the enforcement of this policy in consequence of the ill-judged conduct of the mayor and aldermen.² The mayor had been ordered to appear before the Lord Treasurer, but did not come in his official capacity. For this contempt he was deprived of office, and from 1285 to 1298 the King appointed the civic officers.³ In 1290 the Londoners begged for the restoration of their rights, and pointed out the loss which resulted from the prolonged

¹ *Hist. MSS. Commission: Report XIV., Appendix VIII.* p. 6.

² Noorthouck, *History of London*, p. 59.

³ Delpit, *Collection*, p. lxx., Introduction. The city was allowed its liberties from 1298.

stay of merchants, who absorbed most of the retail trade, and thereby impoverished the citizens.¹ Ten years later the Gascon merchants obtained a charter; they were allowed to have their own cellars, and this the City authorities seem to have regarded as reasonable, though they complained of the permission accorded to the Gascons to live together and have their own table.² The City authorities contended that alien merchants should live with hosts in London, an arrangement which was convenient both for commercial and police purposes, and this point was reaffirmed by the charter given to London in 1327.³ From this time onwards there was frequent change in regard to the disputed privileges of selling by retail, and of aliens selling to one another. But in the time of Richard II. the English citizens finally triumphed, and secured the advantages for which they had been contending.

It has been pointed out above that the success of the English in other departments of commerce and finance appears to be connected with the reorganization of the Staple, and the formation of the Grocers' Company. There need to be less hesitation in treating the incorporation of the Free Vintners as of fundamental importance in connection with this trade.⁴ The company seems to have consisted of those wine merchants, whether Gascons

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, i. 55.

² Delpit, *Collection*, lxx., lxxix. For Edward II. see also Delpit, lxxix., xc., xci., xcii., c., ci.; and Brissaud, *Les Anglais en Guyenne*, 169.

³ Noorthouck, *History of London*, p. 785.

⁴ Stow, *Survey*, ii., v. 282. Rymer, *Fœdera*, iii. 742.

or Englishmen, who were free to trade in the city of London, and they possessed exclusive rights against other aliens. The arrangements for the regulation of trade are very complicated, as account had to be taken both of the prices of wines,¹ the measuring² of wines, and the form in which the merchants might make their returns to Gascony.³

The policy of Edward III. told against English subjects;⁴ and, if we may trust the complaints in Parliament, the navy of the realm declined at the end of his reign.⁵ It is in connection with the Gascony trade that we find the first of the navigation acts⁶ which were fraught with so much importance in the later struggles of our country. Wine was to be shipped exclusively in English ships; even though the limitation seems to have affected the amount imported, to have raised the price and diminished the customs, it was maintained with more or less consistency in subsequent times.

Besides these legal restrictions, there were other changes in trade, which told to the disadvantage of Gascon merchants. Like other aliens, they had undisputed rights to

¹ 27 Ed. III. st. i. cc. 5, 7. ² *Rot. Parl.*, ii. 279 (34).

³ 42 Ed. III. c. 8. See the Vintners' Charter, Rymer, *Fœdera*, iii. 742. This point introduced a complication with the Drapers, who were incorporated at the same time.

⁴ 27 Ed. III. i. cc. 5, 6, 7, subsequently altered by 38 Ed. III. i. c. 11, re-enforced 42 Ed. III. c. 8, and again repealed 43 Ed. III. c. 2.

⁵ *Rot. Parl.*, ii. 306 (31), 307 (30), 307 (32), 311 (20), 314 (46), 332 (59). On Edward III.'s naval power and policy see W. L. Clowes, *The Royal Navy* (1897), pp. 230-289.

⁶ 5 R. II., i. 3; 6 R. II., i. 8; 14 R. II., c. 6.

trade in fairs; but they were brought into conflict with civic privileges if they attempted to carry on dealings with-in chartered towns. There is ample evidence that, towards the close of the fourteenth century, the great fairs were of less importance than formerly, and that business was being concentrated within the towns,—at what we may call regular, instead of occasional, marts. It is not altogether easy to account for a phenomenon which meets us on all sides; we find, on the one hand, an immense number of grants for new fairs, together with complaints of the decline of old ones at Richmond, Bristol, Winchester, and elsewhere. It is possible that there was a mere subdivision of the business that had hitherto been drawn to particular points. But this will scarcely suffice as a complete explanation. The distressed state of the rural districts after the Black Death may have affected the convenience of travelling, while the government disliked excuses for the assembly of a discontented peasantry. But it seems not unlikely that when wool was bought for use within the country, it never got to the fairs at all, and that the opportunities they afforded for the sale of raw produce and purchase of supplies were less needed than in former times. The great fairs in the eastern part of France were decaying about the same period; but their decline was obviously due to the influence of the Hundred Years' War; still it is quite possible that their failure re-acted on some of the English fairs as well. Whatever the reasons may have been, the alien merchants found a less satisfactory market than before, in the marts where they had full privileges; they were therefore forced to

carry on their business under the conditions imposed on them in the towns.¹

18. The obligation to reside in the houses of Englishmen was in itself onerous; so far as London was concerned it was imposed on alien merchants by the statute of Edward I.,² for the government of the city; none but citizens were to have hostelries for the reception of foreigners. This system was enforced in other towns as well; we hear of hostlers and hostmen, especially in

¹ Compare the complaints of the French merchants towards the end of the fifteenth century (Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik*, ii. 525); they might buy from or sell only with burgesses of London or Bristol and might not buy in Blackwell Hall, where the provincial drapers came. Also the grievances of the Hansards in regard to the Assize of Wine and Salt in London. *Ibid.*, ii. 402.

² 13 *Ed. I. Stat. Civitatis Lond.*

"Whereas divers persons do resort unto the city, some from parts beyond the sea, and others of this land, and do there seek shelter and refuge, by reason of banishment out of their own country, or who for great offence or other misdeeds have fled from their own country, and of these some do become brokers, hostlers and innkeepers within the saide city, for denizens and strangers, as freely as though they were good and lawful men of the franchise of the city; . . . It is provided that no man of foreign lands or other person whatsoever shall be a resident innkeeper or hostler in the city, unless he be a freeman of the city, admitted and at farm before the Warden and Mayor and the Alderman as a good man and true, that he hath well and lawfully departed and that he find pledges justiceable before the bailiffs of the city to be answerable to the King's peace and to save the citizens and the city harmless."

This same policy was enforced for the whole realm under Henry IV. 5 *Hy. IV. 9*. "It is ordained and established that in every city, town or port of the sea in England, where the said merchant aliens or strangers be or shall be repairing, sufficient hosts be assigned to the same merchants by the Mayor, Sheriff, or bailiffs of the said cities, towns and ports of the sea, and that the said merchants aliens and strangers shall dwell in no other place, but with their said hosts so to be assigned."

Yarmouth¹ and in Newcastle; attempts were made to render the rule less oppressive by insisting that reasonable rates should be charged for victuals; but though the state professed to control the hostellers, it also made use of them as its agents for some important purposes. In the time of Edward III. they were utilised as searchers,² who were to see that English coin was not carried out of the realm, and at a later date they were required to exercise a complete supervision over all the trade of their "hosts."³ An attempt was made to meet the outcry against aliens which had found expression in the *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*. In 1439 it was decreed that all merchants should be under the surveyance of hosts assigned them by the mayors of the towns they visited. Every alien must present himself within three days of his arrival, to have a host assigned him; these hosts were to be Englishmen born, good and credible persons, expert in merchandise, but not exercising the same kind of merchandise as the aliens under their supervision, and they were to be privy to all the transactions of the aliens under their charge. In particular they were to see that they bought goods to the full amount of the value of the goods imported, after their necessary expenses were defrayed. This stringent measure was allowed to expire eight years after it was passed, and it does not appear to have been enforced stringently during

¹ 31 Edward III. st. ii.

² 9 Edward III. st. ii. c. 11.

³ The word is used indifferently of householders (hostellers) and of foreigners visiting them. Dendy, *Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle* (*Surtees Soc.*), vol. xciii. pp. xxxi. xxxii.

the period when it was operative; but returns remain for London and for Southampton which give most interesting information as to the number of the aliens, and as to the precise articles in which they traded.¹ In the six months from Easter to Michaelmas, 1440, two hundred and forty-seven applications were made to the mayor; in the year from October 1443 to October 1444, there were 185 fresh applications in London. The Genoese appear to have resented this new interference especially; but others, like the Hanse Merchants, escaped from it altogether.

The hostmen of Newcastle appear to have undergone a curious development, for which it is not quite easy to account. They figure in the sixteenth century as a corporation who had powers in regard to the export of coals, and insisted that they had exclusive rights in connection with this branch of trade.² It seems possible that they had, despite the restrictions of the statute, acted as brokers in the purchase of coals for export by aliens, and had thus acquired a dominant position in the trade. At any rate it may be said that their monopoly was regarded as a usurpation, for though they were allowed to enjoy it, they were forced to admit the members of other misteries to their fellowship.

19. So much of the trade with Germany and the Low Countries was concentrated at Calais, or was carried on by the Hansards, that there is a very large predominance of Italians among the aliens who are enumerated as visit-

¹ Guiseppi, in *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, N. S., ix. 96 and 97.

² Dendy, *Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle*. (*Surtees Soc.*, vol. xciii. p. xxxii.) Brand, *Hist. of Newcastle*, vol. ii. 662.

ing this country; it is instructive to notice, however, that the Italians resident in this country in the fifteenth century, were engaged in very different callings from those which had occupied their energies in the preceding centuries. The causes which had led to their relinquishing woolstapling and banking have been sufficiently indicated; but the development of the new and direct trade between Italy and England is a matter of considerable interest. The Venetian galleys had begun their regular trade with Flanders in 1317;¹ and the interruption to the overland trade through France, which was caused by the Hundred Years' War, forced mercantile communication to be increasingly carried on by the sea route. The Venetians were not always welcome in England; and after a serious riot at Southampton, the occasional visits of the fleet were for a time suspended. After 1392, however, the competition of the Genoese forced the Venetians to come to terms with England and to include one or other of the Channel ports in their regular route from Portugal to Flanders.

We hear a great deal of their import trade, and of the useless luxuries which they carried to this country; England was brought into direct contact with the products of those luxurious arts which had been preserved in the East and partly transferred to Italian towns. The difficulties which were felt in regard to the statute of "employment"² appear to be inconsistent with the ordinary English boast that our products were necessary to

¹ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, i. 425 n.

² The obligation of purchasing English goods with money obtained by the sale of foreign cargoes in this country.

the prosperity of other nations.¹ Some of the foreigners bought a little wool for export to Flanders; and Italian agents were largely engaged in buying up English cloth for export, on terms that were said to be unfavourable to the simple-minded natives.

“ The grette galleys of Venees and Fflorence
 Be wel ladene with thynges of complacence,
 Alle spicerye, and of grocers ware,
 Wyth swete wynes, alle manere of chaffare,
 Apes, and japes and marmassettes taylede,
 Trifles, trifles that litelle have availed
 And thynges wyth whiche they fetely blere oure eye,
 With thynges not enduryng that we bye.
 Ffor moche of thys chaffare that is wastable
 Mighte be forborne for diere and dyssevable.

Thus these galeise for this lykng ware,
 And etyng ware, bere hens our best chaffare,
 Clothe, woole and tynne, whiche as I saide before,
 Oute of this londe werste myghte be forborne.
 For eche other londe of necessite
 Have grete neede to by some of the thre,
 And we resseyve of them into this cooste
 Ware and chaffare that lyghtlye wol be loste.”²

The Genoese trade was regarded with more favour than that of the Venetians, because we were enabled by its means to procure the materials necessary for the dressing of cloth; but on the whole, these merchants are pictured as purveyors of useless luxuries, who interfered with the prosperity of the country by ministering to unproductive consumption.

¹ Compare e.g. the poem temp. Ed. IV. in *Political Songs* (Rolls Series), ii. 161: *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*.

² *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, in *Political Songs* (R. S.), ii. 173. See also the *Ensampele of Deseytte* p. 174.

20. Under these circumstances there can be little surprise that they suffered severely, not only from the increasing competition of English traders, but from the pressure put upon them by government, and still more, perhaps, from the collusion of government officials with the merchants engaged in trade.¹

The complaint of the Hansards in 1491 may be taken as a typical instance of these charges.² It was alleged that the customers informed English merchants of the contents of the alien ships, so that the former, acting on this knowledge, were able to get a better market for their goods; and also that the customers made unnecessary delays in sealing the cloths exported by aliens, so that the Englishmen arrived earlier and made the best sales at continental marts. There were also complaints, on the part of Antwerp merchants, of excessive capitation taxes, of like those levied by Turks on Christian pilgrims, and vexatious exactions on their goods, both in connection with the discharge of their vessels and the packing of their returns.³ The mutual recrimination as to the relative treatment of Englishmen in foreign parts, may be left on one side; the policy which was pursued in England towards aliens was similar to that in vogue in other countries at the time. It is sufficient to notice that during this century it had the intended effect; there is no reason to suppose that the total volume of trade de-

¹ This complaint is confirmed by 20 H. VI. c. 5, which prohibits customers from engaging in trade.

² Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik*, ii. 403: arts. 16, 17.

³ *Id.*, *ibid.*, ii. 180-2 (1-9).

clined, but a larger and larger proportion of the existing trade was gradually transferred into the hands of natives from those of aliens.

Besides enduring these grievances in connection with their trade, the alien merchants had also to contribute directly to the taxation of the country. In the time of Edward III. the principle was established, as against the Lombards in the city of London,¹ that those who resided in the country for more than forty days should have a proportional share of the burdens which fell on denizens. Nearly a century later times had so far changed, that the aliens, instead of enjoying special exemption, were charged with a special subsidy; sixteenpence was imposed on alien householders in 1439, and the tax was levied for five years in succession.² In 1448-49 the grant was renewed, but it became a more discriminating duty; hitherto the natives of Wales and Ireland had been exempted, as well as those of the Channel Islands (in 1442); but in 1448, the King's subjects of Guienne and Gascony were also freed from the burden, while a specially heavy tax was levied on Italians of all sorts, Catalonians, Hansards and Prussians. In 1453 the rates on alien merchants, householders, and their clerks and factors, were increased to 40s. and 20s. respectively.³ This state of affairs appears to have continued throughout the reign of Henry VI.; but when a similar grant was made to

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, ii. 137 (13).

² *Rot. Parl.* v. p. 6, and v. pp. 38, 39. It was for three years in 1439, and for two in 1442.

³ Guiseppi, *Royal Hist. Soc. Trans.*, N. S., ix., pp. 91, 92.

Edward IV., the merchants of Italy were exempted from its operation.¹ Considering the obligations of Edward to the Hansards, and the stringent policy which was being taken against the Italians in other ways, this exemption is extraordinary.

The Italian merchants had been temporarily expelled from London in 1456, in consequence of a riot at the time;² and under Edward IV. and Richard III. there were several enactments which must have very seriously affected the import trade of which we hear so much in the *Libelle*. There was a stringently protective measure in 1463³ which prohibited the introduction of all those sorts of finished goods in which Italian workmen excelled. If it was at all successfully enforced, it must have seriously interfered with the profits of trade; and it almost seems strange that any Italian merchants should have continued to carry on their calling amid such difficulties. Their troubles appear to have culminated in the time of Richard III.; while Henry VII. repealed some of the restrictions which had been placed upon them. Their final collapse was not due to petty persecution, but to the larger causes which revolutionised the course of the world's trade. The consolidation of France, and reopening of traffic across the country, must have told against them to some extent; but the discovery of the new routes to the East, which diverted the main lines of commerce from Italy altogether,

¹ Guiseppi, *Royal Hist. Soc. Trans.*, ix. p. 93.

² *Id.*, *Ibid.*, ix. p. 94.

³ 3 Ed. IV. cc. 3 and 4.

was of even greater importance. The final scene in the story was sufficiently dramatic. The last of the Venetian galleys was wrecked off the Needles in 1587.

iii. *Industry.*

21. The alien merchants left a deep and permanent influence here, though many of them were so slightly attached to this country as hardly to be immigrants in the strict sense of the term. Their home ties and family connections were for the most part on the Continent; the deep-seated jealousy with which they were regarded was to some extent due to the fact that they came here only to make money, and not to cast in their lot with the country. The antipathy which is felt for the Chinese in San Francisco, in so far as it is economic and not racial, is partly due to the same feeling. The alien who enriched himself in our land, and then returned with his wealth to his own country, was the least popular of all aliens.

When we turn, however, from finance and commerce to industry, there is no longer any room for this cause of complaint; the alien who came to this country in order to carry on weaving or any other industrial art, came here to stay; he was not a mere bird of passage. There were all sorts of other grounds on which he might be unpopular, but that was not one of them. He came to this country, and brought his skill with him, and threw in his lot, for himself and his children, with a country in which he had not been born.

It must not be forgotten that in the time of Edward III., the wealth of England consisted almost entirely of

raw products, and that her industry was but little advanced. She was rich in wool, and corn, and coal; all three were to some extent exported. There was also a considerable trade in hides and in tin; her artisans were able to supply the home market with substantial wares of every kind; but the finer and more attractive goods were brought from abroad, and there was but little sale for English manufactures in foreign parts. Edward III. took a statesmanlike view of the commerce of his empire, in his attitude towards Flanders and Gascony; but he may also be credited with a far-seeing policy so far as England is concerned. He may be said to have been the first statesman who deliberately set himself to transform this country, which was wealthy in its natural products, into one which should be renowned for its manufactures; he left the English navy weak, for in the later years of his reign his policy proved inimical to this special interest; but he may be said to have taken the first steps to render this country the workshop of the world.

This statement must not of course be put forward too absolutely; it is obvious enough that there had been a considerable immigration of skilled workmen before his time; it is obvious too that efforts had been made to regulate and protect the home industry. Edward did not introduce the manufacture of textiles; and the expedients which he adopted for encouraging it, were no longer novel in his time. But he may be credited with a conscious effort to improve our trade, and the wisdom to do it in the right way; not merely by protective legislation, but by the introduction of those who had carried the art to a

higher degree of perfection. Protection, by itself, may be a barrier to improvement, and may hinder energy and enterprise; Edward's legislation provided favourable conditions so as to attract those who could improve the manufacture.

It may also be said that there was real wisdom in the direction he gave to national industry. There was a temptation for a king, such as Edward appears to have been, to foster the industries that were of special advantage in connection with courtly requirements; to substitute the native manufacture for the importation of articles of luxury. This was a policy which was deliberately pursued under court influence, at a later time in France,¹ and to some extent as we shall see in Scotland; but Edward's main effort was to provide for the successful working up of the materials provided within the country itself; it established the leading English industry on the basis which, as Adam Smith afterwards contended,² affords the natural foundation of rural and industrial prosperity.

22. In pursuance of his policy, Edward III. looked to Flanders as the source whence skilled labour might be drawn. The intercourse between England and Flanders had been frequent; from the order issued to local authorities throughout England in 1270,³ and again in 1315, for the

¹ Pigeonneau, *Histoire du Commerce de la France* (1885), pp. 422, 423.

² *Wealth of Nations*, iii., c. iii.

³ Henry III.'s two letters in 1270, at the time when the wool trade with Flanders was interrupted, are of interest. In the first he instructs the mayors to proclaim "that all workers of

expulsion of all Flemings, except those who had married denizens,¹ it seems justifiable to infer that they had settled here in some numbers. At the beginning of Edward III.'s reign the two countries were complementary to each other as regards economic conditions; English policy and opportunities conduced to an influx of artisans, while the quarrels and disturbances in the Low Countries had done much to render migration less formidable to the Flemish weavers. In 1328, five hundred weavers and five hundred fullers were compelled to leave Ypres for three years and settle in France as hostages; and in 1344, the prime movers in a disturbance, which occurred at Poperinghe, were banished to England for three years.² The merchant companies in the great Flemish towns were unfriendly in their attitude to the craftsmen, while the population of the towns was also hostile to the workmen who lived in country districts and in the suburbs. These local jealousies were chiefly important, because they interposed obstacles to weavers in obtaining a regular wool supply. Migration to England

woollen cloth, male and female, as well of Flanders as of other lands, may safely come into our realm, there to make cloth"; they were to be quit of toll and tallage for five years. A month later he issued an order that all Flemings should at once leave the realm, with the exception of "those workmen, who with our leave shall come into our realm to make cloths, and those in like manner excepted who have married wives in our realm, and who have lands and certain domiciles therein, and whom we deem to be native born." Riley, *Chronicle of the Mayors & Sheriffs*, pp. 142, 143.

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, ii. 277.

² Diegerick, *Inventaire des Chartres d'Ypres*, ii. p. 135.

would remove this difficulty, while in other respects England would appear a haven of rest. The policy of the Crown towards towns had always been generous; Edward I. in particular had distinguished himself by his energy in developing municipal life in new centres; and on the other hand, the capitalist and mercantile class had not attained such power in England, that artisans had occasion to fear oppressive restrictions. Conflicts, analogous to those in the Flemish towns, were to appear in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in England, but they were not a practical danger in the fourteenth.

England was not yet suffering from the ills which arise in a complicated and wealthy civilisation, as the Flemish towns were doing; but it is instructive to notice that in some respects she was in advance of other lands. The royal authority was well established; there was frequent immunity from civil war, and comparative security in which to practise the arts of peace. But more than that, there was to some extent a national machinery for the regulation and promotion of industry; in Flanders the whole was strictly municipal; but in England the aulnager was a national officer, and the weaver, who lived in any part of the realm, could have the sufficiency of his cloth duly attested. Local guilds were for the most part unnecessary, so far as the maintenance of skill and quality were concerned, when the matter was cared for by royal authority; while the alien settlers (in the fourteenth century) had sufficient access to fairs, for the purchase of materials and the sale of their cloth. The weavers could settle in almost any part of the country

and prosecute their calling under sufficient supervision.¹ The object of encouraging them to come was only fully attained, in so far as they were dispersed through different parts of the country and did not form a class by themselves, as was done by the earlier and to some extent by the later immigrants, but mingled with the rest of the community, and planted the skill which they themselves possessed. We shall see how far these conditions were complied with.

The earliest letter of protection² on behalf of John

¹ That industry should be pursued without any supervision, and as the individual pleases, is a modern idea; the mediæval problem was how to provide the right supervision. It is at least doubtful if the *laissez faire* scheme would have tended so successfully to the improvement of the trade generally throughout the country.

² See plate. Pat. 5 Ed. III., p. 2, m. 25. *Pro Johanne Kempe de Flandria de protectione*. Rex omnibus ballivis, &c. ad quos, &c. salutem Sciatis quod, cum Johannes Kempe de Flandria, textor pannorum laneorum, infra regnum nostrum Angliæ, causa mesteri sui inhibi excercendi, et illos, qui inde addiscere voluerint, instruendi et informandi, accesserit moraturus, et quosdam homines et servientes, ac apprenticios de mesterio illo secum adduxerit; Suscepimus ipsum Johannem, homines, servientes, et apprenticios suos prædictos, ac bona et catalla sua quæcumque, in protectionem et defensionem nostram specialem. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod ipsum Johannem, homines, servientes et apprenticios suos predictos, ac bona et catalla sua predicta manuteneatis protegatis et defendatis, et eundem Johannem mesterum suum predictum infra idem regnum tam in civitatibus et burgis quam alibi in eodem regno ubi pro commodo suo melius viderit expedire, absque impedimento aliquo libere excercere ac illos qui de mesterio predicto addiscere voluerint instruere et informare absque calumpnia aliqua permittit. Non inferentes eis vel inferri permittentes injuriam, tiam, dampnum aut gravamen. Et si quid eis fori

Kemp in 1331 is perfectly general in character; it is addressed to all bailiffs, etc., and applies not only to the individual named, together with his servants and apprentices, but to all other men of the weavers' mistery, or fullers or dyers who might desire to come to England from the parts beyond the seas.¹ It seems as if Edward expected² that there would be a large migration of those who had attached themselves to the English interest in Flanders. It has been surmised that those early weavers selected the neighbourhood of Cranbrook, in Kent,³ for their manufacture; but tradition assigns the eastern counties, and especially the neighbourhood of Norwich, as the district where many of these weavers settled.⁴ Half a century later there were Flemings in Norfolk, who seem to have been recent arrivals; and an explanation of certain actions of the rioters at the time of the Peasants' Revolt may be that the hatred which instigated them was partly aroused by industrial rivalry. A band of the city insurgents, headed by a man from Lynn, entered Snettisham,

fuerit id eis sine dilatione faciatis emendari. Promittimus enim nos aliis hominibus de mesterio illo, ac tinctoribus et fullonibus, venire volentibus de partibus transmarinis, ad morandum infra idem regnum nostrum ex causa præmissa, consimiles literas nostras de protectione fieri facere debere. In cuius, &c. quamdiu Regi placuerit duraturas Teste Rege, apud Lincoln, xxiii. die Julii.

¹ In 1337 there was a similar letter on behalf of a body of weavers from Zealand, fifteen of whom are mentioned by name. Rymer, *Fœdera*, ii. 969.

² Delpit, *Collection*, clxviii. It is commonly said, *e.g.* by Fuller and others, that he sent emissaries to induce them to come.

³ Furley, *Weald of Kent* (1871), vol. ii. pp. 325, 330.

⁴ Longman, *Life of Edward III.* (1869), i. 87.

with the deliberate intention of killing any Flemings they might succeed in finding;¹ while others put to death three foreigners whom they found imprisoned at Yarmouth.² But though the eastern counties were the chief, they were not the only district in regard to which we have documentary evidence of the immigration of weavers; some of the aliens established themselves in London,³ two weavers from Brabant obtained authority to settle in York,⁴ while Thomas Blanket set up looms and carried on the manufacture on a considerable scale in Bristol.⁵ We have thus good evidence for connecting these immigrants with centres of the clothing trade in divers parts of the country. The later immigrations of destitute aliens were concentrated in the counties nearest the coast, from which they were gradually passed on; but those skilled artisans, invited here under royal patronage, appear to have made their way to the neighbourhood of the wool-growing districts. There is perhaps least evidence of their presence in the appropriate part of the island, which lay closest to the continent,—the Surrey and Sussex downs, which supplied wool for the Guildford cloth. But we shall hardly be wrong in ascribing to them the main influence in the great development which had taken place in all districts by the time of Edward IV. The statute of 4 Edward IV.

¹ Edgar Powell, *The Rising in East Anglia* (1896), pp. 61, 185; at Lowestoft one of the leaders, Richard Ressh, was a Dutchman, *Ib.*, p. 24.

² *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 82.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 954.

³ Rymer, *Fœdera*, iii. 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 1008.

is an interesting record of the state of the trade in his time; it not only throws light on the method in which the manufacture was organised, but, along with other legislation of the period, it shows that it was regularly established, and cloths of distinct makes were being produced in Kendal, Guildford, Norfolk and the eastern counties and Devonshire. How far the varieties were due to differences in the traditional practice of the art, or to the peculiarities of the wools of the several districts, or to differences of local taste, we cannot say; but there is no difficulty in supposing that the immigrants would be able to adapt themselves to the special circumstances of the places where they were established.

In so far as these new immigrants settled in towns, there was reason to fear that they would be the victims of the jealousy of local weavers. The London weavers enjoyed chartered privileges, and paid a ferm to the Crown; they could not be expected to welcome the intrusion of skilled competitors; and a special letter of protection had to be issued on behalf of the aliens there. So too in Bristol; the operations of Thomas Blanket and his employees were seriously interfered with by the townsmen;¹ but those who settled in villages, or rural districts, would have no such difficulty to contend with. Pursuing a trade, the products of which were to be sold in the neighbouring towns, they could not interfere with the domestic manufacture of homespun cloth for wear; they would buy up wool, and give out spinning, and spend

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, ii. 449 (110).

money in the place. Fuller's picture of the weaver in the yeoman's household may be a fancy one;¹ but in its main features it is highly probable, for it implies that there was almost at once a complete intermingling of the new elements with the old. Nor is it at all likely that these weavers attempted to keep their arts to themselves; the common complaint in the beginning of the fifteenth century that children were withdrawn from agriculture is hardly consistent with any such reluctance on their part; in some of the towns there was a difficulty in securing a sufficient number of apprentices. It is clear that there was no artificial hindrance to instructing native Englishmen in weaving according to improved methods. We are justified in inferring, not only that this industry was widely diffused through the country, but that the newcomers trained up a considerable population who were competent to perpetuate the trade.

It must be admitted that definite evidence, which would enable us to be certain that the great development of the trade as exhibited in the time of Edward IV. was due to the alien immigrants in the time of Edward III., is sadly lacking. We are forced to rely for the most part on mere tradition; but it may be noticed, that in so far as the new-comers were welcomed, and amalgamated readily with the old population, it is necessarily less easy to trace them than in other cases where they were a disturbing element.

There is, however, one of these rural settlements of

¹ *Church History of Britain* (1845), ii. 285.

which it is possible to follow out the history—the cloth manufacture at Castle Combe, in Wiltshire. In the middle of the fifteenth century Sir John Fastolfe purchased more than a hundred pounds worth yearly of red and white cloth of his tenants at Castle Combe.¹ It was a large and flourishing industry, and had given occasion for the rise of a hamlet of Nether Combe, distinct from the older Over Combe, where the yeomen lived.² But we may infer from an extract of 1340, that the principal weaving families had not then settled in the place. This is confirmed by the statement of William of Wyrester, who visited the place in 1458, that “William Toker, Huchecok Toker, and Thomas Toker, were the first inhabitants who were artificers of wool and cloths here.”³ These Toukers are mentioned in the Court Rolls of 1350 and 1380,⁴ while their names seem to indicate their Flemish origin.

Even in a case like this, where the industrial population formed a separate hamlet, they did not keep aloof from the old inhabitants; for in 1435 William Heyne, serf and clothier, died and left chattels estimated at £2,000, on which the Lord of the Manor obtained a handsome fine. The trade of this place seems to have been introduced by aliens, but natives were soon able to take advantage of it and profit by it.

¹ Scrope, *Castle Combe*, p. 201.

² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 248. There is some evidence of Flemish settlers here before this date; pp. 149, 204.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 160, 163. And Walter the Fuller is spoken of as early as 1355; p. 160.

23. In connection with the earlier invasion of Flemish artisans, an attempt was made to show that it is probable that a definite type of industrial organization—the craft-gild—was introduced by these weavers into England from abroad; there is every reason to believe that the new-comers from Flanders in the time of Edward III., were the pioneers of capitalistic production in England. Capital had, of course, been engaged in commerce; and there were small capitalists who undertook building operations on contract, but a very large proportion of the industry of the country was carried on with the help of advances made by customers, or on materials which customers furnished. In the cloth trade, however, as it is depicted for us in the time of Edward IV., we find the capitalist clothier, who supplied wool or yarn, paid the employees, and traded in cloth; the workmen were not brought together in factories, but the business was analogous in type to that of a modern employer. The clothier was probably able to buy materials to advantage, and to exercise a careful supervision over the work he accepted from the hands and put upon the market, while he also had an advantage in organizing the different processes of the industry—spinning, weaving, shearing, fulling, etc. Accordingly the statute¹ of 1464 is directed against the abuses of capitalist industry, and the petty oppression which could be exercised by the wealthy clothiers. We might be

¹ 4 Edward IV. c. i. Only lawful money was to be paid in wages, and due weight of wool was to be delivered to work-people.

tempted to suppose that the whole of the trade was conducted on capitalist lines; but we know from other sources that this was not the case, and that the independent craftsmen continued to survive in many regions. Still it is clear that the capitalist organization, which has gradually come to be universal in modern life, had already developed itself to some extent in this branch of industry.

The gild regulations, which were concerned with the good training of workmen and limited the number of apprentices, were inconsistent with capitalist production; they seemed to assume that the master was a householder, and was responsible for the training and discipline of the members of his household.¹ But the capitalist, who carried on his trade outside the sphere of gild jurisdiction, was more free to do as he liked; national regulation applied to the quality of the product, but not at this period to the conditions of production. There was, in the time of Edward III., freedom for the growth of that capitalist organization of industry, of the existence of which we find evidence in the time of Edward IV.

Nor is it possible to doubt that such men as John Kemp and Thomas Blanket may be properly described as capitalists; they came with their servants and apprentices, and they set up their looms for weaving: they do

¹ In this aspect the principle of the gild may be regarded as that of mutual supervision through elected officials; and provision was made for the formation of weavers' gilds of this type in Norfolk as late as the time of Henry VIII. The principle of the capitalist organization of industry is supervision by an employer.

not seem to have been mere artisans who migrated with their own households. The expansion of the cloth manufacture was opening the way for a profitable cloth trade, and we hear more and more of drapers and clothiers; the connections between this branch of commerce and the industrial employments were close and may have been various. We might have artisans, whether shearmen or others¹ rising in the world by engaging in the drapery trade,² or there might be clothiers who found it profitable to become employers and superintend the production of goods for the market; it is obvious that in the latter part of the fifteenth century the capitalist organization of the clothing trade was very common, and in one town at least it had fitted itself into the company organization. The clothiers of Worcester were a body of capitalist cloth merchants who practically controlled the terms of manufacture in the district, and the rules which were accepted by the town authorities for the government of the trade in 1497 are of considerable interest.³

¹ Ashley, *Economic History* (1893) I., Pt. ii. 211, 212.

² Charter of Drapers' Company in 1364. Herbert, *Livery Companies*, i. 480.

³ Valentine Green, *Worcester*, II.; Appendix, p. xlvii. From *Liber Legum* (1497).

"Making of Dagonis and Mercery cloth."

"Also, that the wool weyght within the said cite called the spynnyng weyght, excede not in all with the oyle and lust 3 pounds of the weyght of avurdupoise, and that the said weight of three pounds be ensealled according to the Kyng's standard upon peyn of 6s. 8d. of him or hur that occupieth, to the cofur, to be paid to the baill: for the tyme beyng as often tymes as hit may be provid, and to be further punnyshed according to the statute. Item, hit is ordeined that the keper of the yeldhall have the said spynnyg wyght, to the entent that evy person may

From the provision against truck and the possibility of frauds in the giving out of wool, as well as the permission to the weaver to make cloth for his own use, we see

have recourse and knowledge of the same for trouthe, and by the same to mak them ther spynnyng wyght; and yf eny spynner fynds hur grevid in the matter foreseid, that she come to the said keeper of the yeldhall, and therupon, the weight seen and found defective, she shall have remedy by the baills: and where hit is used and accustomed grete cloth makyng to be hedd within the said citie and suburbs of the same, and so occupied by grete parte of the people there dwellyng, that is to say spynners, websters, dyers, shearmen, and other labourers or artificers appertayning to the same, and where of late hit hath ben usid that to divers of the said artificers by masters and makers of cloth, they shuld non otherwise be contentid or paid but in mercery, vitayll, or by other means, and not in silver, that hath growen to the grete hurte of all the said artificers, laborers, and of the pore commonaltie: also hit is ordeyned from hensfurth by the present yeld, that no maker, chapman, or siller of cloth, paying to every artificer or laborer of the said citie for ther labor, anything in chaffer, but redy money, and the said money by the said artificer or laborer so taken in eny wise by color or threte of the maker, chapman, or siller of cloth be not compelled for the said money to buy ware of him, but be at his liberty to buy his ware with the same money where hit pleasith him, and he or they that presume to do the contrary, as often tymes as he or they be founden in defawte to pay 20s. half to the baill: and half to the comons: and also hit is ordeined that all artificers that maketh cloth within this citie may make a dagon of clothe of 8 yards or within to sill where hit pleaseth him, provided that he maketh not divers of them by cooyn, to the prejudice and hurte of the draper's crafte; and that every artificer may make for hymself, his wife, his children and menyal servants, as moche cloth as wull suffice and serve them without eny agreement to the said crafte of drapers, provided that yf eny cloth white or coloured mysfortune or before hurt or empared in the myllyng, that the walker shall as he comyth from the mill wright hit and sell hit to his most advantage and profit without any agreement to be made to the said stewards of drapers' crafte; and yf eny person occupyng cloth makyng sill or utter any cloth otherwise then ys above rehersed then to be contributory to the drapers crafte: and that no person inhabitant within the citie ne libertie of the same oppynly ne covertly sill mercery, grocery, or haburdashery without he agree with the stewards of the crafte, provided that evy man or woman denysyn may sill linen cloth of their proper makyng without contradiction of eny person."

that the capitalist type of industry in all its aspects was supreme in this trade at Worcester at this date. That business, even when thus organized on modern lines, tended to migrate to new centres and freer conditions,¹ is also an instructive fact; but so far as we can trace the beginnings of the new type of organization, we may say that they seem to have synchronised with the development of the trade in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and that the earliest "captains of industry" whom we can identify by name were immigrants from Flanders.

24. The development of the cloth trade led naturally to the further development of subsidiary employments, such as the trades of shearmen, fullers, and dyers. We can often trace these by the mention of fulling mills or walk-mills,² as well as by the growth of their organization, as at Coventry, or by the frequent allusion to

¹ Statute for Worcester; 25 Henry VIII. c. 18.

² The fulling mill on the Irk, the oil from which is said to have made the citizens so fat, was estimated in 1282 as worth 26s. 8d.; but in 1320 its value had fallen one half. It is often called in old documents the walke-mill, from the Flemish *walcken*, to full. The fullers were called walkers, and their piece of land connected with this mill on the bank of the Irk was known as the Walkers' Croft till a few years ago. This shows that Flemings were early dwellers in Manchester (Harland, *Mamecestra*, ii. 315). There are walk-mills at Dunfermline and near Perth. In the time of Edward I. there was a fulling mill at Bradford (Yorkshire). (James, *History of Bradford*, 275); and one on the Colne, near Manchester, in the time of Edward II. (*Collectanea, Chetham Soc.*, lxviii., pt. i. 78). There was also a fulling mill in Cambridge in 1353 (Cooper, *Annals*, i. 104), and one at Leeds about the same date (Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodensis*, 78).

one or other of the callings in towns like Cambridge,¹ where the trade was not organized; at the same time, it cannot be said that these trades got a firm footing in the country, for in the sixteenth century a large proportion of English cloth was exported to the continent, undressed and undyed. In other departments of industry we appear to have relied on foreign skill. Aliens were engaged at the Mint from time to time, there being between two and three hundred employed there under Edward I.,² and Germans, miners, were brought by Richard of Cornwall at the end of the thirteenth century, to work at the Cornish mines.³ We hear of the sporadic immigration of aliens who came to practise other trades — of linen weavers⁴ from Flanders and clockmakers⁵ from Delft, under Edward III.; local tradition speaks of Flemings as settled in South-East Lancashire in this same reign, and attributes the introduction of clogs to them.

¹ In a map of Cambridge (in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1573-1617, Tom. i. pt. 2), the road which now connects King's Parade with Market Place, passing on the left of Great St. Mary's, was called Sherer's Bow. Shearmen are frequently spoken of in the town's history of the fifteenth century. Curiously enough the trade had completely died out in the county in De Foe's time. It is likely enough that cloth woven over a large area would be brought to a common centre to be dressed.

² Henry III. issued a writ for the introduction of foreign moneyers. Pat. 31 Henry III. m. 3, quoted by Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*, i. 23.* For Italians at the Mint see Bond, *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii. p. 233.

³ K. H. Schaible, *Geschichte der Deutschen in England* (1885), p. 85.

⁴ Madox, *Firma Burgi*, 197.

⁵ Noorthouck, *History of London*, 72.

But it is not easy to be sure that all of these immigrants had much effect on the industry of the country at large, either at the time or in the future.

25. In the fifteenth century we have evidence of a considerable immigration of artisans under somewhat different conditions to those already described. They came to manufacture those finer goods in which Englishmen were at the time unskilled; and the evidence regarding the movement is almost entirely derived from the statutes that were passed to protect home industries.

The earliest measure of this kind was passed in 1455, and was intended to protect the London silkwomen from the competition of imported goods. On the face of it there is nothing to show that these silk women were not English, but there are one or two circumstances which render it probable that they were the forerunners of this type of alien immigrants. In the first place, the trade was in itself a novelty in Western Europe; it had been established at Lucca for some time, but it was not planted in Florence till 1315, or in France till Louis XI. introduced it at Tours in 1469.¹ Silk throwing in England involved the importation of raw silk from abroad; and it could hardly have sprung up as an indigenous art unless immigrants had brought it here. Still further, as an organized women's trade it may be regarded as an exotic on English soil; women's guilds were common enough in Paris in the thirteenth century, but in England they

¹ Pigeonneau, *Histoire du Commerce de la France* (1885), pp. 415, 423.

seem to have been unknown, and women had a comparatively unimportant position in the craft guilds and livery companies. The material they used and the form of their organization alike suggest that this body, on behalf of which Henry legislated,¹ was of foreign origin, while it is equally clear that they must have come from Italy or the Levant. The experiment of protecting this trade was first made for a period of five years, and was repeated in subsequent reigns.² It seems to afford an instance of antagonism to alien merchants on behalf of alien artisans settled in England.³

But this protective policy soon produced unexpected results. As early as the reign of Richard III. we find evidence that alien artificers were flocking to this country. The merchants had been prevented from importing finished goods from abroad; and this rendered it tempting

¹ 33 Henry VI. c. 5.

² 3 Ed. III. c. 3; 22 Ed. III. c. 3; 1 Rich. III. c. 10; 19 Henry VII. c. 2.

³ This legislation on behalf of the silk women was explicitly directed against the Lombards; but the Hansards claimed that their chartered privileges permitted them to defy the prohibition. They continued to import silk from Germany; but a royal official forcibly entered the steelyard and destroyed some Cologne silk which he found there; the body of London artisans who agitated in favour of protection was much larger than the silk workers could possibly have been. In 1456, the Italian merchants were so insulted by the London shop-keepers and artisans that they determined to withdraw altogether and to make Winchester the depôt for their trade (*State Papers: Venetian*, i. 339). And during a temporary suspension of export trade, which hampered the merchant adventurers in 1494, the London apprentices and journeymen, who were thrown out of work, attempted unsuccessfully to destroy the steelyard altogether.

to try and organize manufactures in this country by introducing foreign hands. "Moreover," we read, "a great number of artificers¹ and other strangers, not born under the King's obeysance, do daily resort and repair to the city of London, and other cities, boroughs and towns of the said realm, and much more than they were wont to do in times past, and inhabit by themselves in the said realm with their wives, children and household, and will not take upon them any labourious occupation, as going to plough and cart, and other like business, but use the making of cloth and other handicrafts and easy occupations, and bring and convey, from the parts beyond the sea, great substance of wares and merchandize to fairs and markets, and all other places of this realm at their pleasure, and there sell the same, as well by retail as otherwise, as freely as any of the King's subjects use to do, to the great damage and impoverishment of the King's said subjects, and will in no wise suffer nor take any of the King's said subjects to work with them, but they take only into their service people born in their own countries, whereby the King's said subjects, for lack of occupation, fall into idleness, and be thieves, beggars, vagabonds, and people of vicious living, to the great perturbation both of the King and of all his realm." . . .

"Our sovereign lord the King, of his abundant grace,

¹ 1 R. III. c. 9. The preamble complains that they withdrew when they had made money here. This may be true of the Italian merchants, against whom the statute is mainly directed, but is not likely to be true of the artificers who came here with their wives and families.



willing against the premisses to provide remedy in this behalf, by the advice and assent of his lords spiritual and temporal, and at the prayer of the Commons in the said parliament assembled . . . hath ordained . . . that no person not born under the King's obeysance, as before is said, shall exercise or occupy any handicraft, not the occupation of any handicraftsman in this realm of England, but that all such persons which after the feast of Easter shall come into this realm, and everyone of them, shall depart into their own country again, or else be servants to such of the King's servants only as be expert and cunning in such feats, arts and crafts, which the said strangers can occupy, upon pain of forfeiture of all their goods which shall come and dwell within this realm contrary to this act, in whose hands soever they shall be found."

It is impossible to doubt that immigration took place on a considerable scale, and one or two definite illustrations may be given from other places than London. In 1453 the inhabitants of Dinant complained that three copper-founders had secretly left the town with their tools, and had emigrated to England, and it was feared that the industry they established there would flourish to the consequent hurt of the trade which had hitherto been carried on between Dinant and England in copper goods.¹ There was a grant to John de Salvo and Anthony Spy-nile,² allowing them to introduce foreign cloth-makers;

¹ Pirenne, *Dinant* (1889), pp. 94, 95, and 105.

² Campbell, *Materials for Reign Henry VII.*, vol. ii. pp. 134, 528

Spynile was a Southampton man, and both he and De Salvo, though natives of England, were not improbably of Italian origin.¹ Flemish workmen were established at Seend in Wiltshire within a few years of this date,² while an Italian, Anthony Bonvis, obtained permission to introduce an improved method of spinning into Devonshire.³ These contributed to our industrial progress. Another alien of this period was the pioneer of the Tudor voyages of discovery. John Cabot, an inhabitant of Bristol, but a Genoese by birth, commanded the first English expedition that reached the mainland of America.⁴

26. We are fast approaching the time when the religious differences of the Reformation gave an entirely new impulse to alien immigration. But there was another purely economic influence which must yet be considered ; it preceded, and also continued to operate after the new wave had set in. The discovery of America and the importation of silver from the New World, had turned attention all over Europe to the possibility of discovering

¹ Many aliens obtained naturalisation about this time. Campbell, *Materials*, ii. 512, 227, 287, 289, 318, 342, 378, 423. About a dozen Frenchmen (shoemakers) settled in Dorset between 1496 and 1520, and others following various trades after 1521. These were probably driven out of France by religious persecution, and were naturalized in 1544. *Westminster Denisation Roll*, 86 Hy. VIII.

² J. Aubrey, *Topographical Collection for Wilts* (Wiltshire Archæol. and Nat. Hist. Soc., 1862), p. 304. *Natural History of Wilts* (1847), p. 112.

³ Strype, *Annals*, p. 870: 20 Hy. VII.

⁴ It seems possible, however, that the family was not Italian, but of Norman blood, and located in the Channel Islands. H. Cabot Lodge, in *Nineteenth Century*, May, 1897, p. 734.

the precious metals nearer home, while it had given a great impulse to the metallurgical arts generally. France, and especially Germany, were in advance of other countries of Europe in engineering and chemical science at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Men from Brittany were brought to work the tin mines of "St. Hersie" in Cornwall;¹ and Frenchmen from Croys were employed "in moynes of iron, lead and other metals as well of the King's highness as others of his faithful subjects by virtue of a commission to one William Pexwell, merchant of Bristol."²

By the end of the century copper was being extensively worked in Cornwall, at Treworthy,³ Perrin (Perran?) Sands,⁴ St. Just,⁵ and Logan⁶; these mines were worked by Dutchmen.⁷ Endeavours were made by Henry VIII. to obtain the services of Germans in order to develop the mineral resources of England. In 1528 Joachim Hechstetter⁸ of Augsburg was appointed principal surveyor and master of all mines in England and Ireland,

¹ On *Westminster Denisation Roll*, 36 Hy. VIII. These men are entered as "tynners." They had been in England for periods varying from forty to twenty years.

² *Westminster Denisation Roll*, 36 Hy. VIII., "in England 40 years," or "a great space."

³ *State Papers Domestic*, Eliz., clxiv. (4).

⁴ *Ibid.*, clxviii. (13) and clxix. (16). ⁵ *Ibid.*, cxcv. (39), (50).

⁶ *Ibid.*, clxxi. (4).

⁷ *Ibid.*, clxix. (16). A remonstrance from Sir T. Smith with regard to high wages paid to Dutch miners, and a suggestion that Cornishmen should be employed, as they work for less charge.

⁸ *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Hy. VIII.*, iv. 2, No. 5110.

and was empowered to come over with six Germans and start operations and to erect smelting-houses. This appears to have led to little at the time, but his son Daniel¹ became master of the royal mines in 1571. His appointment appears to mark an epoch in the progress of English mining. In the intervening period several other Germans were brought over, partly in order to work at the Mint, and partly for the sake of mining. Among them was J. Kundelfinger² in 1550, and Daniel Ulstatt of Augsburg and his partners.³ The prospect of successful mining seemed to be favourable, both for gold, silver and copper, and in 1563⁴ a German mining company was floated. This company of the royal mines, under the direction of Thurland⁵ and Hechstetter, started operations at Keswick⁶ and elsewhere in Cumberland, and sought permission to bring in three or four hundred workmen.⁷

¹ *S. P. Foreign*, Eliz., No. 2075. *S. P. Dom.*, Eliz., xxxiv. (59), xc. (48). Ehrenberg, *Hamburg und England*, p. 5, note 4.

² *S. P. Foreign*, Ed. VI., Nos. 245, 273.

³ Burgon, *Gresham*, i. 355, 359.

⁴ *S. P. Dom.*, Eliz., Addenda xi. (94). *S. P. Dom.*, Eliz., xviii. 18.

⁵ Master of the Savoy. He appears to have been an energetic promoter of mining enterprise, but he relied on German skill, and German labour. The space at my disposal does not allow me to make full use of the materials in regard to the mining for silver, gold, iron, copper, etc., which was attempted by foreigners in different parts of England in the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign. Much information will be found in the State Papers, and in the Lansdowne MSS. (British Museum), under the various names mentioned in the text.

⁶ *S. P. Dom.* Eliz., xxxv. (3), xxxvi. (25), xl. (14).

⁷ *Ibid.*, xxxvi. (59).

To encourage this venture, the promoters were, at the outset, freed from the payment of all tenths and fifteenths.¹ Humphrey, a paymaster of the Mint, appears to have interested himself in speculations of a similar kind; he directed his attention specially to Ireland,² and was associated in his enterprise with Christopher Shutz,³ a German engineer. Cornelius de Vos was a rival prospector,⁴ who obtained permission to work alum mines in the Isle of Wight.⁵ As in the case of other mining projectors, the results attained do not appear to have come up to their expectations,⁶ and it is impossible to say what influence they may have had on subsequent developments.⁷

27. Besides the specific instances which have been given of the immigration of artisans, there is further evidence, from the increased activity on the part of municipalities and municipal guilds at this time. The Shrewsbury regulations showed a growing vigilance against "foreigners," in whom aliens would at any rate be included; the same antagonism is evidenced in the ordinances of the tailors and coopers of Southampton,

¹ *S. P. Dom.*, Eliz., xxxvi. (43).

² *Ibid.*, xxxvi. 73, 81-83, xl. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, xxxvii. 5, 40-44.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xxxvi. 82.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xxxvi. 72.

⁶ *Ibid.*, xlviii. (12).

⁷ The connection between England and Augsburg capitalists at this time must not be underrated, and may have had some influence on the beginnings of other trades, which it seems impossible to trace to their source. See Ehrenberg, *Hamburg and England*, p. 7, note referring to "Augsburg fustians" at Bolton. Nemnich, *Reise durch England, Schottland, etc.* (1807), p. 576.

and the reconstitution of the government of Worcester in 12 Henry VII. exhibits traces of like feeling.¹ This prevalent jealousy of native artisans for alien artisans found expression in the statutes of 3 Henry VIII. and 14 and 15 Henry VIII. The first of these Acts was directed only against aliens who were engaged in cordwainery. In it we get the charges which, justly or unjustly, were preferred against them. The alien conscience was evidently held to be very elastic, if not non-existent, for the sum and substance of the preamble amounts to an accusation that these aliens of set purpose cheated the "King's liege subjects" by the production of ill-wrought goods. The statute which followed, eleven years later, was wider in its scope, and its tenor was completely in accordance with the spirit of the time. It seems to have been thought that aliens were a necessary evil, since Englishmen were not inventive, and were dependent, so far at least as the textile manufactures were concerned, upon the introduction of improved methods from abroad.

We have, in the *Discourse of the Commonweal*, a record of the accepted economic opinion on this matter in 1549. This may be taken as typical of the feeling which was called forth by similar conditions during the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century. The *Discourse* is written in the form of a dialogue, and the Doctor, one of the speakers, stands for the

¹ On English jealousy of foreigners in sixteenth century, Ehrenberg, *Hamburg und England*, p. 18; Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik*, i. p. 431; also below, p. 264.

exponent of sound views. His opinion is given in the conversation which he holds with the Capper.

CAPPER.—“And do youe thinke it is reasonable that a stranger should be as free in a citie or town as they that weare prentices theare? Then no man would be prentice to anie occupacion yf it weare so.”

DOCTOR.—“I saye not that they should commonly have like libertie, or franchise. But as one crafte makes but one particular companie of a towne or citie, so I would have the wealthe of this citie regarded, rather then the commodite or franchise of one crafte or misterie; for though commonly, none should be admitted theare to worke but suche as is free, yet when a singuler goode workman in anie mistery comes, which by his knowledge might bothe instructe theim of the towne, being of the same facultie, and also bringe into the town muche commoditie beside; I woulde, in that case, have private liberties and privileges give place to a publike wealthe, and suche a man gladly admitted for his excellencie to the fredome of the same towne, withoute burdeninge of him with anie charge for his first entre or settinge up. Yea, wheare as a towne is decayed and lackes artificers to furnishe the townes with suche craftes, as other weare sometime well exercised theare, or might be by reason of the satuation and commoditie of the same towne, I would have better craftes allowed oute of other places where they be plentie, to come to those townes decayed to dwell, offering theim theire fredome, yea theire house rent free, or some stocke let theim of the common stocke of suche townes. And when the towne is well furnished of such artificers, then to staie the comminge of forreners.”¹

This same policy had been advocated by an anonymous author of the reign of Henry VIII. He shows that many benefits would arise in the prevention of idleness and the multiplication of exports, if new employments were found for Englishmen. He urges that “all

¹ *Discourse of the Commonweal*, edit. Lamond (1893), p. 129.

workers of artificialite" be "set to worke as well strangers as Englyshmen." But the reason and justification which he gives for the employment of strangers was not such as would have appealed to the native craftsmen. Aliens were to be encouraged "because the good workmanship of all artificialite is most comenly seen in strangers." For this fact the writer adduces the reason that the excessive import of foreign goods had precluded the sale of home manufactures. Strangers, with constant practice, had perfected themselves in various arts, at the expense of Englishmen who had lost "all corage to studie for all such feates."¹ The antagonism of this theorist was thus concentrated, in contrast to that of the English workman, not upon the immigrant craftsman, but upon the merchant, who, whether alien or denizen, flooded the country with, foreign commodities in his own selfish interests.² But to the jealous native artisan, the alien competitor must have appeared to be the cause of his woes. If he could not obtain a market for his goods, the advent of other men who plied the same craft threatened to increase

¹ Treatise entitled *How the comen people may be set to worke an order of a Comen Welth*, in Pauli's *Drei Volkswirtschaftliche Denkschriften*, p. 57.

² In this opinion this writer is again in accordance with the Doctor in the *Discourse of the Commonweal*. The Doctor held that "it weare better for us to paie more to oure owne people for those" (i.e. imported) "wares than lesse to strangers." Paper is instanced as a manufacture which had failed in England, because English craftsmen were undersold by foreigners. *Discourse of the Commonweal*, p. 66.

his difficulties. The outcry, not merely against alien merchants, but against alien artificers, appears to have increased in violence until it culminated in the great riot of Evil May Day in 1517.¹ This was an attack apparently organized by the apprentices and journeymen against their foreign rivals, and fomented by men of position, who were severely punished for the part they took in the affair.

A comparison of the attitude which was adopted towards aliens at the end of the fifteenth and early in the sixteenth centuries, with the treatment which was accorded to them in the thirteenth, shows that the jealousy of aliens had become much more pronounced. Certain changes in economic conditions had rendered their presence less necessary, and their position less pleasant. It has been shown that the growth of a capitalistic class of Englishmen in the fourteenth century ousted the aliens from the financial operations of the country, which they had hitherto conducted; and these capitalists were able to undertake the foreign as well as the internal trade, almost to the exclusion of foreign merchants. The restrictions which had been imposed upon alien traders in respect of length of stay, residence in particular houses, and supervision of their traffic, tended to prejudice their status; while the Navigation Acts precluded them from acting as carriers for English goods. In consequence England was much less attractive to alien merchants than it had been at the beginning of

¹ Stow, *Annals*, 1517.

the intervening period, though it still offered a field for the development and organization of manufactures. Economic motives pure and simple were becoming less powerful in conducing to the immigration of moneyed men.

iv. *Scottish History.*

28. The conditions of life in Scotland during this period did not offer such good opportunities for industrial development as were occurring in England. There was little or no national life, for the king's power was far less effective than in England; the country had far less¹ to attract alien merchants,—like the Lombards, Gascons, and Flemings; and there are few signs of the prosecution of a national commercial policy such as was inaugurated under Richard II. With the single exception of James I., it would appear that the kings had not the will, even if they had had the power, to trouble much about the economic development of the country.

Nor were matters specially favourable within the towns; municipal life in Scotland had not prospered in the years that followed the war of independence. Under Edward I.

¹ The order issued by the English king at the beginning of the fourteenth century to the Scottish Chancellor for the seizure of the goods of the Pullici and Rembertini is evidence that some Italian merchants had penetrated into the North. (Cochran Patrick, *Medieval Scotland* (1892), p. 128).

Flemish merchants seem to have visited Scotland to purchase wool. Edward II. attempted to stop this traffic, with only partial success, in 1313. In 1347 a staple was established at Middleburgh, in Zealand, of which Scotsmen appointed the Mayor, and after this date the trade was probably chiefly in the hands of natives (Cochran Patrick, *loc. cit.*, p. 128, 129).

there had been a great unification of the separate jurisdictions in English burghs into one government for each town; but the Scottish towns continued to be an aggregate of neighbouring and distinct jurisdictions. The city of Edinburgh was wedged in between the Castle and the burgh of Canongate, while Broughton and Calton and the two Portsburghs lay on its flanks. The royal burgh of Rutherglen and the episcopal burgh of Glasgow were rival centres of trade; in the towns of the highest status—the royal burghs—there was a premature development of the plutocracy, which had already become powerful in continental towns. The convention of royal burghs was a sort of mercantile parliament; and the interests of those who lived by dealing were unduly cared for, while the industrial classes were but little considered. In the fourteenth century in England we find the harmonious development of craft-gilds, as integral parts of municipal government, and under municipal authority; but there is no corresponding movement in Scotland, till a century later, and when we come across it, it follows the lines of Flemish, rather than of English organization. It has been pointed out above that the conditions of industrial life in England were probably so far superior to those of many of the workmen in Flanders as to conduce to immigration; but there is no reason to suppose that there was any similar attractiveness so far as Scotland was concerned; except that, as it was a wool-producing country, the chief material for the manufacture of cloth might be easily obtained. Neither the political nor the social condition of the northern kingdom rendered it a favour-

able sphere for the operation of the new industrial influences, which, under the fostering care of the king, were doing so much to revolutionize the character of English trade. In discussing the effects of the Norman Conquest, it was possible to show that the wave of immigration rolled on into Scotland, and that similar results showed themselves on both sides of the Tweed; but, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the barrier between the two countries was so complete that Scotland did not appreciably share in the progress of England.

One possible exception may be noticed in this matter. King James I. of Scotland spent his youth at the English Court, and returned to his own land imbued with English ideas. He may well have been struck with the results of the industrial policy of Edward III., and he gets credit from the chroniclers for sending for craftsmen out of England, France, and Flanders, and planting them in Scotland.¹ There is but little, if any, documentary evidence to confirm this tradition; but still it is clear that during the fifteenth century there was some increase in the industrial life of the towns. We hear for the first time of the organization of labour, and though it seemed to be quite unsuccessful in securing a status like that of the skilled artisans in English towns, the struggle is in itself worthy of notice.²

The right of electing deacons for each craft was the

¹ *Metrical Chronicle*, in *Buik of the Cronicles of Scotland* (R. S.), iii. 545. Crawford, *Trades House* (1828), 23.

² For an account of the struggle, see Gross, *Gild Merchant*, i. 213.

point in dispute; the deacons had supervision over the wares exposed for sale, and the question was whether these officials should be elected by the craftsmen or imposed upon them. It does not appear that the deacons had any powers of supervising the materials, or enquired into the hours and conditions of work; they were directly concerned with, and limited to, the passing or condemning of wares exposed to sale. We thus see that the whole of the industrial organization and legislation with regard to apprenticeship and so forth, which is so prominent in the English "compositions,"¹ has scarcely a parallel in Scotland. On the other hand, the Scotch trades appear to indicate their continental affinity by the stress laid on the *essay*,² which was almost neglected in England. Apart from their express claim of following the custom of the towns of France and Flanders,³ we might have been led to believe that the trade organization of Scottish towns was strongly influenced by continental, rather than by English, models.

It seems possible, then, that it is to the fifteenth century, and especially to the time of James I., that we are to attribute the large immigration of weavers which undoubtedly took place at some time or other. The fact that they bear the name Brabanters in not a few towns renders it improbable that they were introduced in the

¹ An agreement between the town authorities and a craft guild as to the rules to be enforced.

² A piece of work done to prove a candidate's fitness for being a master. Colston, *Incorporated Trades*, p. 13.

³ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, iv. 30.

twelfth or thirteenth century, before Brabant had come into prominence; and they appear to have migrated anteriorly to the sixteenth century and the religious struggles of that date. The walkers and litsters may be survivals of a previous immigration, though their incorporation in the year 1500¹ would point to their increasing importance. But the Brabanters may almost certainly be connected with the fifteenth century—the partial reflection of the great development which had already occurred in England.²

It is also true that the political connections of Scotland had an economic influence of their own; it appears that the French affinity extended beyond political and military affairs, and left its mark on industry as well. In particular, Mary of Guise is alleged to have introduced workmen from France, but these appear to have been brought over to cater for Court requirements, rather than with a view to the industrial development of the country;³ it appears that a satisfactory substitute for the Paris shoes was not found in the local workshops either in Edinburgh or the Canongate.⁴ Still industrial development was not

¹ The walkers of Edinburgh were incorporated in 1500. Cochran Patrick, *Mediæval Scotland* (1892), p. 85.

² *Ib.*, p. 23. The protective policy in regard to cloth in 1473 may have been deliberately copied from similar measures which were adopted in England. In addition to this prohibition of the import of cloth, its export is recorded in an Act of the Scottish Parliament of the year 1488. *Ib.*, p. 185.

³ F. Michel, *Les Écossais en France et les Français en Écosse* (1862), vol. i. pp. 429, 432.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 435.

altogether forgotten. French miners and masons came to Scotland during the reign of James V.¹ So far as artistic work is concerned, both in the goldsmiths' and the building trades,² the intimate connection between the two countries can be easily proved by surviving examples, as well as by the history of particular individuals. In this case, however, it may be said that the influence of the Scot abroad, or rather of the travelled Scot who returned home, is more noticeable than that of the alien who came to this island.

¹ F. Michel, *Les Écossais en France et les Français en Écosse* (1862), i. 429, 431. In 1526 James V. had given mining concessions to some Germans (Chambers, *Domestic Annals* (1858), i. 17), and as early as 1511 a Dutchman was employed as melter at the mine on Crawford Muir (*Ibid.*).

² P. M. Chalmers, *A Scots Mediæval Architect* (1895), 34, 64.

**THE REFORMATION AND RELIGIOUS
REFUGEES**

IV

THE REFORMATION AND RELIGIOUS REFUGEES

29. Till the middle of the sixteenth century there had been little occasion for popular migration on purely religious grounds. The planting of monasteries may, of course, be regarded as a sort of religious colonization, and it had a considerable industrial importance in the earliest ages in England, and in the thirteenth century as well; and in the history of the crusades it is not easy to sever the religious from the commercial motives. But so long as Christendom was united, there was little reason for persons engaged in secular callings to migrate from one country to another on religious grounds; the conditions were so far alike that this motive would hardly come into play.

Nor, so far as fifteenth-century England was concerned, would it be specially attractive to those who were becoming dissatisfied with the life and practice of Latin Christianity. Lollardism had indeed been widely diffused, but it had been closely associated with political nihilism and social anarchy; and the Lancastrian legislation had dealt severely with heresy. From the time when Europe was rent in twain by religious differences all was changed; there was now a deeply drawn line of demarca-

tion which affected all social relations; to a large portion of the industrial population in Germany, the Low Countries, and France, migration became a practical necessity. Their prime reason for migrating was religious; and their prime object was, not to discover a country that offered special advantages for their own calling, but to secure an asylum where they could live according to their convictions. That they exercised an enormous economic and industrial influence is true; but this result was incidental; the motive that brought them here was not industrial, but religious.

For many of them there was a considerable amount of English sympathy, which found its keenest expression at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and on the whole they had powerful patrons at Court; but at the same time they had to contend with the deep-seated dislike of aliens, which was engrained in the English mind; at the close of the fifteenth century this had taken the special form of jealousy of the superior skill of foreign artisans. In the sixteenth century this feeling was very active, but it was conjoined with a new reason for dislike; at this time we come in contact with the destitute alien, who had lost all for conscience sake. He might be an admirable person, but he added to the overwhelming difficulties of existing pauperism. All through the Tudor times the position of the unemployed was causing great anxiety, and there was a not unnatural indisposition to receive aliens who might be a burden, or who by their competition would injure the struggling native. Towards the end of the seventeenth century

there was a decided change of feeling in the matter, but in the Tudor times the new settlers were not very welcome in the localities where they were established. On the other hand, this fact gives us the means of tracing these settlers more easily. The immigrants in the time of Edward III. appear to have been rapidly merged with the rest of the population; but the religious refugees were apt on the whole to form separate communities, with special religious rites and church registers, and special arrangements for providing for the relief of the poor. It is on this account much easier to trace their geographical distribution and settlements; but, on the other hand, we see that there were more grounds than formerly for industrial jealousy. There was at all events some apparent reason for the complaint that they practised their calling to enrich themselves, but did not plant the industry among Englishmen. Much of the effort of the seventeenth century was directed to the attempt to absorb these colonies into the industrial and religious life of England.

Of most of these religious immigrants it is perhaps less true to say that they were attracted to England than that they were obliged to leave their own countries, and that England was one of many regions where they took refuge. At the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes it was not by any means the principal asylum, as large numbers sought shelter in Hesse, the Baltic provinces, and elsewhere.¹ But the fact renders clear the

¹ C. Ancillon, *Histoire des Etablissements des François Refugez* (Berlin, 1690).

principle of division, which will prove most convenient; we shall look in turn at the sources from which the successive waves of religious immigration originated.

Just as the economic immigration continued after the incursion of religious refugees had begun, so too do we find that ecclesiastical evidence gives us a certain amount of retrospective light on previous incursions. It enables us to connect the manufacture of blankets at Witney, in Oxfordshire, with alien settlers in a way that we should otherwise fail to do. Among the lists of those who were proceeded against for heresy in 1521 we find several names which are suggestive of Flemish extraction.¹ This was yet in the early times, when ecclesiastical authorities were concerned in preserving England from the contagion of the new doctrine which was being widely spread in Germany.²

30. In the reign of Henry VIII. religious motives probably co-operated with other influences to cause a stream of immigration to flow towards this country; on the whole, it continued fairly steadily, though it appears to have received a temporary check about the time when the hostility of the English artificer was most pronounced and had shown itself in the outbreak of Evil May Day. As religious dissension became rife in the northern countries of Europe, the influx increased; though in their selection of England as their destination, the settlers can hardly have been deluded by the hope of religious tolera-

¹ W. J. Monk, *History of Witney*, p. 131.

² Compare the letter to Pope Clement in Balan. *Monumenta Ref. Luth.* (1884), no. 260, p. 550.

tion consequent upon the king's breach with Rome; so far as Henry was concerned,¹ no warm welcome would be vouchsafed to those who maintained Lutheran doctrines. But there were powerful men like Cromwell, who were ready to give them protection for a time, and they would feel more sure of their position when Somerset obtained authority. Still it is only on the supposition that the majority had been practically forced into exile that the influx of such large numbers becomes intelligible.²

The immediate legislation of the time was calculated to deter, not encourage, the advent of foreign artisans. Politically, strangers were a menace to the realm when relations with other powers remained strained, and the number of naturalizations granted, as well as the proclamation of 1544,³ ordering all Frenchmen, not denizens, to depart, point to the recognition by Government of this danger.

¹ Rahlenbeck, *Les Réfugiés Belges*, p. 7. Reprinted from the *Revue Trimestrielle*, ii. Ser. t. viii. Oct., 1865.

² Froude, *History of England* (1872), i. 126, states that the number of Flemings in London as early as 1527 was 15,000. In 1536 the strangers in London were called upon to take part in repressing the rebellion of that year. The French tailors in London were armed with arquebuses, and given two groats a day, with one groat of drink money for every five miles they marched. The Flemish shoemakers were compelled to go at the same wages. The English only got 6d. a day and drink money. *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, xi. (714). Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre* (1892), vol. i. p. 6, argues as regards the greater number of French and Walloons of Henry VIII.'s reign that their membership of the French Church in Elizabeth's reign testifies to the motive which brought them to England.

³ Proclamation 16 May, 36 Henry VIII. Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1785), 446.

There was one new departure on the part of Government, however, which tended to promote the immigration of certain classes of workmen. Attention was evidently being directed to the manufacture of ordnance; and it looks as if the trade had been introduced by imported skill. Under Henry VIII. a new officer had been instituted, "the provider of the King's instruments of war," and this post was filled by an alien then, and in the three successive reigns.¹ Sundry gunners and armourers from France, Germany, and the Low Countries, settled in Southwark and Blackfriars.² Peter Bawde, a Frenchman, "maker of bombards," had several of his countrymen in his employ; and Le Caron and his associates made morris-spikes. Italians contributed to the progress of this industry. A cannon founder, Arcana, settled here, and Italians are said to have established a gun foundry at Salisbury Court.³ Nearly forty workmen, almost all of them natives of Normandy, were employed at Pelham's Wybarn's, and other ironworks, and were made denizens for this purpose in 1544.⁴

There are also many signs of private enterprise on the

¹ W. Page, *Hug. Soc. Pub.*, viii. *Introduction*, p. xlii. I am indebted to the valuable introduction to this work for many interesting references.

² *Westminster Denisation Roll*, 36 Henry VIII.; cf. *Hist. MSS. Commission*, iv. 194.

³ W. Page, *op. cit.*, *Introduction*, p. xlii. The church of the Italian colony in London was small (see below, p. 150), and its affairs were not very prosperous. *Lansdowne MSS.*, xlv. 29.

⁴ *West. Denis. Roll*, 36 Henry VIII. Several Frenchmen were working at Sir T. Bowyer's saltpetre works. *Ibid.*

part of immigrants at this time, though it is almost impossible to say whether the trades exercised by them were wholly new to this country or not. Silk-weaving was;¹ so probably was ribbon-weaving; the making of combs, buttons, jewellery, baskets, and embroidery, were among their occupations.² Dutch tapestry-makers settled in London, and there were others of the same trade at the court.³ There were several glaziers from the Low Countries⁴ and from France.⁵ Printing had been learnt by Caxton in the previous century in Germany; but at this time many printers came from abroad.⁶ Bookbinding was largely done by foreigners.⁷ Stow, who says that the making of felt hats commenced in the beginning of Henry VIII.'s reign, attributes the first introduction of the art to Spaniards and Dutchmen; we may owe it to a felt-hat maker who came from Caen in 1514, and was followed by others of his trade at intervals during the reign.⁸

¹ A silk weaver from Rouen came in 1532, and two others a few years later. A ribbon-weaver came from Gascony in 1628. *Westminster Denisation Roll*, 36 Henry VIII. Various proposals, on the part of Italians and others, for establishing the silk manufacture were brought before Cecil in 1559 and considered by him. *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, viii. 32-35).

² *West. Denis. Roll.*, 36 Henry VIII. See this same Roll for other trades.

³ W. Page, in *Hug. Soc. Pub.*, vol. viii., *Introd.* p. 1.

⁴ J. W. Clark, *Architectural History of Cambridge*, i. 500 n., 618.

⁵ Galien Hone and foreign workmen. Pat. 26 Henry VIII., p. 2 m. 42; in *Hug. Soc. Pub.*, vol. viii. 125; and *Introduction*, p. xlv.

⁶ Schaible, *Geschichte der Deutschen in England*, p. 119.

⁷ W. Page, *Hug. Soc. Pub.*, vol. viii., *Introduction*, p. xliii.

⁸ *Ibid.*, and Stow, *Annals*, 870. The felt-makers were incor-

31. Since many of these immigrants were not attracted to this country by purely economic motives, they appear to have been guided by other than economic reasons in the choice of the special localities where they settled. So far as London is concerned, the aliens took up their abode in the various liberties, in the precincts of monasteries, most of them in Blackfriars and St. Martin's, in Westminster, and the borough of Southwark.¹ After the abolition of the college of St. Martin's under Henry VIII., strangers occupied the houses which were built in its place, and they sought to retain the privileges which had attached to the religious foundation.² The freedom of the liberties and sanctuaries from the jurisdiction of the city authorities made them attractive to the foreigners; while sanctuaries, though a licensed refuge for offenders, afforded protection against attack. This tendency was observable before the reign of Henry VIII., and the precedent in the selection of their quarters was followed by subsequent settlers.³

There was a considerable temptation to adapt the deserted monasteries for industrial purposes, and one of the noblest of the ancient abbeys was utilized in this

porated in 2 James I., and worked in a hall near Christchurch. Straw hats were introduced by a man from Guelders in Henry VIII.'s time. Pat. 22 Henry VIII., p. 2 m. 35. In *Hug. Soc. Pub.*, vol. viii. p. 136.

¹ *Hug. Soc. Pub.*, viii., *Introd.*, p. xli.

² Noorthouck, *History of London*, p. 545.

³ The number of sanctuaries was limited to certain towns and to minor offences. 32 Henry VIII., c. 12. The privilege was abolished 1 James I. 25,





THE ALIENS' DISH, GLASTONBURY.

fashion, for early in 1550 we find some Walloon weavers settled at Glastonbury,¹ under the patronage of the Duke of Somerset. Such a migration would not seriously differ from others that had already taken place, when foreign capitalists introduced workmen to some appropriate district, but there can be no doubt that in this case religious motives were primarily at work,² and the new-comers were organized as a church; their minister used the liturgy which had been approved at Strassburg.³ The religious changes also gave the opportunity for settlement in Somerset; the break up of the abbey must have been a serious loss to the town of Glastonbury, and it was wise to try and replenish the population and increase the trade. The abbey, with its lands and tenements, had been granted to the Duke. Dwellings were assigned to the worsted weavers by him; and the money necessary for the purchase of tools and materials.⁴ They were placed under the care of an English overseer who did not forward their

¹ Strype, *Life of Cranmer* (1812), vol. i. p. 346. The Subsidy Roll for Somerset, 3 Edward VI. $\frac{1}{2}$ 1550, shows that there were a few aliens in Glastonbury in 1549, but they were described as "more in dett than they be worth."

² Rahlenbeck, *Les Réfugiés Belges*, 8.

³ *Liturgia sacra, seu ritus ministerii in ecclesia peregrinorum propter Evangelium Christi Argentine*. Valeranus Pollanus published this liturgy; Strype (*Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 378) speaks of the weavers as coming from Strassburg; but this is a mistake—they were Walloons. Cf. J. H. Withof, *Vertheidigung* (1753), 15.

⁴ Strype, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 348. The settlers were all made denizens. E. Green, *Somersetshire Archæol. Trans.*, vol. xxvi. pt. ii. 21, quoting Pat. 5 Ed. VI. p. 4, m. 88.

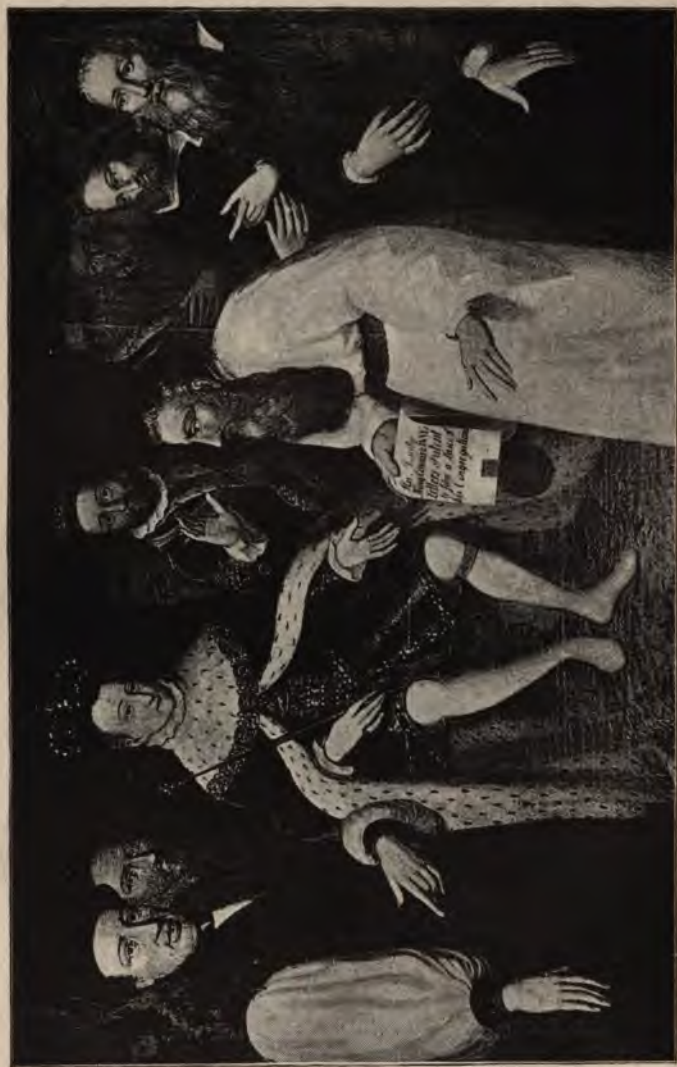
interests.¹ They seemed to have fared ill after the disgrace of their patron, for it was found necessary to petition the Privy Council on their behalf.² After this, an enquiry was made into their case, and a loan of money granted to them,³ but at the death of Edward VI. and the accession of Mary, all strangers were commanded to leave the realm. The weavers returned to the Continent, and settled in Frankfurt, where they formed no inconsiderable part of the refugees from England who eventually assembled there. The use of a church had been granted them, and service was held in French and English on alternate days, while the refugees were to arrange among themselves about service on Sundays. But this proved no easy matter. Some of the English refugees regarded the Prayer-Book as the badge of their national church, and were anxious to use it; while the Walloon weavers, and another section of the refugees, were decidedly Calvinistic; they preferred not to use the English Liturgy as it had been remodelled in the time of Edward VI.;⁴ and there was, in consequence, much squabbling between the rival parties as to the continued use of the English Prayer-Book. Eventually the Calvinistic section succeeded in carrying the day, and in bringing round many of the exiles to their views. Thus indirectly these Walloon weavers were able to leaven some of the

¹ Strype, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 348.

² *Id.*, *ibid.*, vol. i. p. 349.

³ *Id.*, *ibid.*, vol. i. p. 350. E. Green, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 20.

⁴ *Id.*, *ibid.*, vol. i. p. 509; and *A Brief Discourse of the Troubles begonne at Franckfort*, in *Phoenix* (London, 1707), ii. 46.



EDWARD VI. GRANTING THE PATENT FOR AUSTIN FRIARS' CHURCH TO JOHN A'LASCO.

Marian exiles with their sentiments, and contributed to render them more advanced in their Protestantism on their return to England on the accession of Elizabeth. These weavers are of interest in connection with the origins of Puritanism, but their industrial influence was slight; though the worsted trade seems to have lingered on in Somersetshire until the seventeenth century, as there were then tradesmen's tokens having reference to this manufacture.¹

Another settlement, which was practically contemporaneous, was much more important. The refugees, who found their way to London at the time when Charles V. was endeavouring to enforce a compromise known as the *Interim*,² have left their mark more permanently. King Edward VI., acting on the impression made by one of Latimer's sermons, granted the use of the Austin Friars Church for the German refugees, and nominated a Pole, John A' Lasco, as their superintendent.³ The congregation were to be allowed to use their own rites and ceremonies, and to enjoy their own ecclesiastical discipline, though these were not in accordance with the order established in the realm.⁴ In the time of Queen Mary they were com-

¹ Warner, *History of Glastonbury* (1826), p. 262.

² Rahlenbeck, *op. cit.*, 8.

³ See the patent given by J. S. Burn, *History of French, Walloon, Dutch, and other Protestant Refugees*, p. 265. He appears to have had supervision over all foreigners in London, both Walloon and German-speaking, Italians and Spaniards. This London settlement was the nucleus of the Dutch Church.

⁴ The number of aliens in London in 1548-1550 was about 5,000, according to Schaible (*Geschichte der Deutschen in England*, p. 130).

pletely dispersed, and the church was utilized for warehousing naval stores; but, when Elizabeth ascended the throne, a considerable number returned to the land of their adoption, and the church was reconstituted—not under a separate superintendent, but under the surveillance of Grindal, the Bishop of London. It formed a nucleus to which the Germans, who came here at subsequent times, attached themselves, and the current of its life was much disturbed by the Arians and Anabaptists who brought with them the extreme doctrines which were being preached among their compatriots at home. Two Flemish-born Anabaptists were burned as heretics in 1575,¹ and in May of that year eleven Dutch people, ten of whom were women, suffered death at Smithfield for the same cause.²

This congregation would appear to have contributed in no small degree to those features of the Elizabethan Court which impress the imagination most vividly. We are familiar with the portraits of the Queen in her elaborate ruffs; but the art of starching linen was unknown in England at the time. Mrs. Dingham van der Plasse, the daughter of a Flemish knight, introduced the art into England; for the fee of £5 she was prepared to instruct English gentlewomen in the approved methods of getting up linen, and so greatly was her teaching prized that she soon amassed a considerable estate.³ Another member of the same community was William Boonen,⁴ who is credited

¹ J. S. Burn, p. 190, and Rymer, *Fœdera* (Hague Edition), vol. vi. p. 161.

² Stow, *Annals*, p. 679. ³ *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 869. ⁴ *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 867.

with introducing the use of coaches into England; he is said to have acted as coachman to Queen Elizabeth, who occasionally availed herself of this new method of progression. Considering how large a part these arts play in modern life, it is worth while to notice the persons to whom their introduction is assigned. So far as linen goes, the matter is likely enough, for, as the manufacture had never taken root in England, the art of getting it up to advantage would be less likely to be cultivated.

32. In following out the fortunes of the congregation at Austin Friars we have already entered on a new period; the accession of Elizabeth was marked by the return of the foreigners who had been exiled under Mary, and it was speedily followed by an immigration on a large scale from the Spanish Netherlands.¹ The task of governing

¹ During the reign of Elizabeth we find frequent and careful returns of the number of refugees in London and elsewhere, and the statistics are much more reliable than the estimates of preceding reigns (see above, p. 141, n. 2, and p. 147, n. 4). There is an interesting list dated 22 June, 1561, of about 230 men, born under Philip's allegiance, who were members of the German Church; it gives their families, trades, and occupations (*S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, xvii. 33). We have also a certificate of all strangers in London, Westminster, Southwark, etc., dated 20 January, 1563. In the three first years of the reign, 371 (157 men and 214 women and children) had come for religion, and in the last twelve months 341 (179 men and 172 women and children), making a total of 712. The number of those who had not come for religion during the same period was 962; while the number of those who had come here before Elizabeth's reign began was 2,860. The total number was 4,534 (*S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, xxvii. 19). In 1566 there is another list of the members of the German Church in the city (*Lansdowne MSS.* at British Museum, ix. 31), as well as articles for enquiry to be made throughout London and the suburbs in 1567, as

his vast dominions had taxed the powers of Charles V. to the utmost; and his son, with all his extraordinary capacity for work, was less fitted than his father had been for dealing with his Flemish subjects; he was also unwilling to delegate his powers, and was not always happy in the choice of his ministers. The aspect of affairs in the Low Countries became more and more threatening,¹ till the advent of Alva secured for a time the apparent triumph of the policy of repression; and peaceful citizens were inclined to follow the course, which had been taken by so many of their predecessors, and migrate from Flanders to England.

In 1561 a number of families—406 persons in all—who had been driven out of Flanders and Brabant, were allowed to settle in Sandwich,² in order to carry on weav-

to the number of strangers? their length of residence? their trades? whether they were "favourers of any naughtie religion or sect"? whether they went to their parish churches or the German Church in the city? (*Lansdowne*, x. 46). An address to the queen in 1568 is also of interest in this respect (*S. P. Dom.* Eliz., xlviii. 47). In 1581 there was a very full return of the strangers in the city, arranged by wards; it divides them into denizens and mere strangers; the total was 3,909, of whom 1,149 attended the French Church, 66 the Italian, 1,043 the English, 1,364 the Dutch, and 287 were of no Church (*Lansd.*, xxxii. 10, 11, also xxxiii. 59). It is interesting to compare this return with that obtained in April, 1583. *S. P. Dom.* Eliz., clx. 27. For another certificate in 1593 see *Lansdowne*, lxxiv. 81.

¹ In June, 1567, the Duchess of Parma wrote to Philip of Spain that the report of the expected arrival of the Duke of Alva, at the head of an army, had caused people to flee from all parts to France, England, Cleves and elsewhere. Gachard, *Correspondence de Philippe II.* (1851), vol. i. pp. 546, and see also p. 556.

² They seem not to have gone to Sandwich direct, but to have

ing and to engage in fishing, and about the same time a large settlement was also made in Canterbury. These Walloons were granted the crypt of the Cathedral for their services, and obtained royal protection in the exercise of their callings. As at Sandwich, a limitation was imposed on the number of householders, though this must have been maintained with difficulty, as fresh recruits were constantly arriving from abroad, and it could not be always easy to pass these immigrants on. Some neighbourhoods were ready to receive them, however. The corporation of Norwich, a town which had never recovered from the suppression of Kett's rebellion, petitioned to have some families settled in their town, and thirty Dutch families of weavers were sent among them.¹ They met with some opposition from local artisans,² especially the dyers; but after ten years had

been members of the strangers' Church in London. *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, xviii. 9. See also below, p. 162.

¹ *Lansdowne MSS.*, vii. 81. We can occasionally trace the subsequent planting of the trades thus introduced in other parts of England. Thus at Pickering in 1652 the justices arranged to bring men from eastern counties to introduce the manufacture of serges and employ the poor. *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, ix. 331. So possibly at Chester in 1674. *Ibid.*, viii. 390.

² According to Stow, there was a real decline in the home demand for the old drapery as the new drapery came to be preferred for many purposes. *Survey*, vol. ii. bk. v. p. 267. There certainly was a decline in the broad-cloth manufacture at Newbury in 1564, and though this was probably due to the closing of foreign markets, it would not conduce to the favourable reception of alien weavers. The incident gives an interesting glimpse into the duties of capitalist employers as then understood. The justices were to "deal roundly" with those who

elapsed¹ there was no longer any doubt as to the advantages which the town had derived from their presence. In 1567 a body of Walloons sought permission to settle in Southampton.² The town authorities agreed to admit a hundred strangers,³ and through the mediation of Bishop Horne a settlement was effected.⁴ The church which was organized there was re-enforced by natives of France and the Channel Islands, although originally designed for the Netherlanders.⁵ The people of Maidstone were also anxious to have a colony⁶ to carry on different branches of manufacture; the scheme was carried out, and the thread manufacture was planted with considerable success; a report, which was drawn up two years later, details the result of the experiment.⁷ Indeed, this year, 1567, marks the chief activity in the matter. There were foreigners who pressed their needs upon Cecil, and who desired to immigrate in numbers,⁸ and their case was eagerly pushed by Grindal.⁹ That Cecil was himself in sympathy with them may be proved by the fact that he

dismissed their hands, even though business was at a standstill. *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, xxxiv. 43.

¹ *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, lxxvii. 58. See also *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, xx. 49, a paper I believe to be of this date.

² W. J. C. Moens, *The Walloon Settlement and French Church at Southampton*, *Hug. Soc. Proc.*, iii. 56, 58. There was some discussion as to the desirability of distributing the strangers between the three towns of Winchester, Salisbury, and Southampton. *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, Add. xiii. 80, 81, 82.

³ *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, xlii. 71.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xliii. 16.

⁵ *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, xliii. 19.

⁶ *Ibid.*, xliii. 29, 30.

⁵ Moens, *loc. cit.*, pp. 67, 68.

⁷ *Ibid.*, cx. 10.

⁹ *Ibid.*, xliii. 29.

granted them the use of a house of his own at Stamford.¹ The most permanent result of the attempts to plant the immigrants was the establishment of the settlement at Colchester in 1570. They had landed at Sandwich and found their way to Essex; the bailiffs of Colchester desired that they should remain, but did not like to act on their own responsibility.² On the whole they were well received, but disputes arose before long.³ Some of them appear to have left Colchester and settled further inland in the neighbourhood of Halstead;⁴ but apparently the project did not answer,⁵ for a few years later we find that the weavers had returned to Colchester, and that the people of Halstead⁶ and neighbouring towns were eagerly petitioning that they should be compelled to return. There are also returns in 1571 as to the numbers of strangers settled in London,⁷ Harwich,⁸ Dover,⁹ as well as in Yarmouth¹⁰ and Lynn.¹¹

¹ *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, xliii. (11); lxxxv. (76); and lxxxvi. (5). For the requests of the settlers, see also Strype, *Life of Parker* (1822), *Appendix*, lxxvii.

² Morant, *Essex*, i. 75; cf. *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, lxxviii. 9.

³ In 1575, *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, ciii. 33, 34.

⁴ *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, cviii. 54.

⁵ *Ibid.*, cxx. 22.

⁶ *Ibid.*, cxlvi. 63.

⁷ *Ibid.*, lxxxii. (i.), lxxxiv. (i.), lxxxiv. (ii.). For Colchester, see *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, lxxviii. 9. For Sandwich, see *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, lxxviii. 29. For Rye, see *Lansdowne MSS.*, xv. 70. Given by W. J. Hardy, in *Hug. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 569, 575. There was a Dutch church at Ipswich in 1574, and one at Thetford in 1575 (Schickler, i. 279). Burn refers to one at Dover in 1576 (*op. cit.*, p. 220); and the French church at Wandsworth is said to date from 1573. Burn, *op. cit.*, 117.

⁸ *Ibid.*, lxxviii. 8. The number of strangers here at this date was only eight.

⁹ *Ibid.*, lxxviii. 19.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, lxxviii. 10.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, lxxviii. 13. This town had been frequented by aliens

The fisher interest at Yarmouth resented the intrusion of "Frenchmen," and the natives succeeded in placing certain restrictions upon these foreign fishermen,¹ and the colony was eventually expelled from Yarmouth. Barnstaple, on the other hand, was a town which was generous in its treatment of such strangers as were needy; on one occasion some Flemings, who represented that they had been robbed, were helped,² and two other Flemings received public money.³ It was, of course, easier to succour the casual applicant than the permanent settler and probable rival. On the whole, however, when we consider the jealousy which was commonly felt of alien artisans, we may say that their reception was cordial.

Such wholesale immigration from the Low Countries was strongly objected to by the Spanish authorities,⁴ and Elizabeth was anxious to keep up appearances and not to give unnecessary offence to Philip of Spain. In 1574 she refused to allow any additional members to be received in the Dutch Church in London; she insisted that the Lord Mayor should disperse them, and that they should

in a much earlier time. Compare the fines exacted from aliens in the time of Henry V. and VI. Harrod, *Report on Deeds and Records of Lynn*, 119.

¹ *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report*, ix., *Appendix*, 317², 1st Oct. 28 Eliz. Yarmouth Corporation. In the list of strangers in this town in 1571 several are mentioned as having come from France. *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, lxxviii. 10.



² In 1607. *North Devon Herald*, 19th August, 1880.

³ *Ibid.*, 5th August, 1880. At a later date a Grecian and a Turk were aided (*Ibid.*, 5th August, 1880), in 1612 and 1614, and four Frenchmen (*Ibid.*, 19th August, 1880), in 1646.

⁴ Rahlenbeck, *Les Réfugiés Belges*, 21.

THE NETHERLANDS

At the time of Alva's Persecutions

Showing Dutch speaking people  and Walloon speaking people 
under Spanish rule



be settled in provincial towns, where their increasing numbers would be less likely to attract the notice of the Spanish Ambassador.¹ This policy had been already acted upon by Cecil, who had removed a number of strangers from London to Stamford,² where they retained their own church till the beginning of the eighteenth century.

These immigrants, though all coming from the Netherlands, may be naturally divided into two well-marked groups: the Walloons, who came from Artois, Hainault, part of Flanders and Brabant, Namur and Luxemburg, and spoke a dialect of French; and the Flemings or Dutch, who spoke a Teutonic dialect. The latter became the heirs of the privileges granted to the Germans by Edward VI. in the church of Austin Friars, while the former had obtained the lease of the church of S. Anthony in Threadneedle Street.³ The Walloon congregations, both in Canterbury and London, were subsequently increased by the Huguenot immigration from France;⁴ but this

¹ Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 574. See above, p. 150, n. 2.

² *S. P. Dom.* Eliz., xliii. 11. Burn, *Hist. of the French, Walloon, Dutch and other Protestant Refugees*, p. 218.

³ A French service appears to have been held in London prior to the Dutch one. In the first instance the church of Austin Friars was granted for the use of both Flemish and French-speaking congregations. The increase in the number of Dutch settlers led to the grant of this church of S. Anthony. Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre*, i. 26, 27 and 36.

⁴ In 1618 the number of strangers in London had increased to 10,000, but by far the larger number of these were Flemings and Walloons; there was a sort of French colony in Farringdon

does not seem to have been of very great importance till after the time of Elizabeth. In 1562, when Elizabeth threw herself into alliance with the Huguenots, and the north of France was in a very disturbed condition, there was a considerable immigration from Rouen and Dieppe. These Frenchmen landed at Rye,¹ but the permanent settlement there does not appear to have been large.² Each successive flight across the Channel, occasioned by civil strife in France, was followed by pacifications and the return of many of the refugees. Though the stay in England was of short duration, the number of the fugitives on each occasion was, for the time being, large.³ The third influx, after the massacre in 1572, consisted of nearly the entire Protestant population of Dieppe, with others from Rouen and Lillebonne. It was considerable enough to tax the capacities of Rye to the uttermost, and to necessitate an overflow settlement at Winchelsea.⁴ The colony at this latter place had no continued existence; but the renewed immigration from Dieppe to Rye in 1585-6 resulted in its re-establishment at that date.⁵ A further incursion took place in 1621.⁶ The burden of

Within, but some of these were Papists, and there is no reason to believe that there was a considerable Huguenot invasion. *Camden Society*, vol. lxxxii., *Preface and Appendix*.

¹ *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, xxv. 88, 55; xxvi. 7. ² Burn, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

³ The first arrivals in 1562 numbered more than 650 (*Sussex Archaeological Collections*, xiii. 183). For the second immigration, see *Ibid.*, 194, and *Hug. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 569-575. After the exodus of 1572 there were nearly 700 people.

⁴ Schickler, *op. cit.*, i. 297.

⁵ *Ibid.* i., pp. 302, 303.

⁶ *Walter Yonge's Diary* (*Camden Society*, xli.), p. 39. He speaks

contributing alms, for the poor people who had recently come over in great numbers from France, was one of the pleas advanced by the members of the French Church in London for not levying certain sums which had been demanded of them;¹ and a collection on behalf of the French fugitives was ordered by the king in that same year.² The returns of the strangers in Dover in 1622 show that there had been a considerable influx there at that date;³ and others landed at Rye and at Sandwich.⁴ Such of the Huguenots as remained do not appear to have formed separate communities; in so far as they were not merged with the general population, they appear to have attached themselves to the Walloon colonies.

33. These colonies of Walloons and Flemings have a certain analogy with the groups of settlers who held by special tenures and on special terms in Norman times, but there are also many and striking differences. Norman England was comparatively amorphous, and the intrusion of a fresh element did not create anything exceptional. Elizabethan England was very different in every respect; there was a definite constitution, and the subjects had to

of many who fled from Rochelle, and chose England as their refuge, some going to Jersey and Guernsey.

¹ *S. P. Dom. Jas.* I., cxxii. 44.

² Bewes, *Church Briefs* (1897), p. 109. In 1627 there was another brief for refugees from the Isle of Rhé, p. 127. *Ibid.*

³ *Camden Society*, vol. lxxxii.: *Lists of Foreigners*, p. 12. A French church existed here during the years 1621-2. Another settlement was formed by Walloons and Dutch, political refugees, in 1635, and their church seems to have continued till about 1660. *Hug. Soc. Proc.*, iii. 130, 286.

⁴ *Hug. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 228, 422.

make considerable contributions for the support of the government; the question remained, how would the new colonies fit into the existing system? What should be their share of the burdens either general or local? Especially there was the pressing question as to the relief of their poor.

Nor was this all. England had a very definite ecclesiastical system, a system which the government was determined to uphold, so that the nation might present a definite front as a whole. But little favour was shown to dissentients of any sort, and it was at least an anomaly to respect the consciences of aliens, while so much pressure was put upon natives. The view, which appears to have been commonly taken, was that the exception to the established order had been made out of very special circumstances, but that it was undesirable that separatism of this sort should be perpetuated in the land. So, too, at this time there was a very definite industrial system, with a specified period of apprenticeship, and many restrictions as to the place and manner in which a man might ply his calling. To such regulations the new colonies could not be easily accommodated; while it was considered undesirable that they should be perpetuated as separatist, and it was supposed, as specially favoured institutions. In order to appreciate the position of these settlers, we must think not merely of jealousy on the part of other artisans, but of the exceptional legal arrangements which had to be made on their behalf.

So far as the general burdens of the country were concerned they do not appear to have enjoyed any special

exemptions; they had to pay the additional customs on the import of their goods, and they appear to have taken their fair share when men were mustered for the defence of the realm,¹ or munitions of war had to be provided;² indeed, their ambition seems to have been that they should not be more heavily taxed than other residents,³ but this was not always attained.⁴

The incursion of these weavers rendered it necessary to make a considerable re-adjustment in the customs. The migration of the industry from the Low Countries reduced the customs on the export of wool, and there was a reduced payment on the importation of the new drapery, as it was now made within the realm.⁵ After some discussion it was determined to collect an imposition of 4*d.* per cloth on the new drapery manufactured within the realm. There was uncertainty about the constitutional right to levy this tax,⁶ and there was also some doubt

¹ *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, xx. 49. *Hist. MSS. Com., Report IX., Appendix i.* p. 158¹. *Archæol. Cant.*, xii. p. 45. In 1587 the strangers in London and Norwich furnished men for the levy to repel the Armada. *Hug. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 128, and *Hug. Soc. Pub.*, i. 46. Apparently the strangers at Southampton were called upon for foreign service at Rochelle. *Hug. Soc. Proc.*, iii. 120.

² *Hist. MSS. Com., Report IX., Appendix i.* p. 159².

³ Burn, *Hist. of the French, Walloon, Dutch, and other Protestant Refugees*, 275 (first addit. article).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 273: "Besides, we are more extraordinarily sessed than the English, for the King's ships, for the reparation of the church, for the musters."

⁵ Stow, *Survey* (1754), vol. ii. bk. v. 267. Compare the discussion of the whole situation by J. Johnson: "An estimate of the Proffit that will growe by the clothinge of Straungers in England." *Lans. MSS.*, xxxiv. 69.

⁶ The point was referred to Sir Giles Gerrard, the Attorney-

whether the aulnager should be responsible for the new manufacture as well as the old. Eventually it was decided that this business was outside his department, and a new office was created, charged with the duty of viewing the new drapery and collecting the impositions. The refugees who carried on weaving were thus enabled, after the immigration, to get their wool cheaper; but they had to submit to a tax on their cloth, whether it was sent abroad or sold in the home market.

In regard to the relations with the towns, we find a very full account in the articles agreed on at Canterbury. The settlers were still treated as aliens, and were only to sell their manufactures in gross, not by retail;¹ but they were permitted facilities in other respects. They might have their own carriers, and their own artisans, shoemakers, and victuallers, to suit their requirements in carrying on their work; and they were to be allowed to hire houses for such time as they thought fit.² They were

General, who held that the Queen "might set any reasonable imposition upon any piece of such drapery as should be made by any strangers—and that for two causes. The one was, that for all the strangers that made such things did work here only by Her Majesty's sufferance, and therefore they were to obey such impositions as should be laid on them, or else not work at all. And another cause was this: for that Her Majesty did now receive some loss and detriment by their great drapers of wool, which heretofore was used to be vended out of the realm and now was not; and thereby Her Majesty did lose her ancient customs that were paid her for those wools when they were transported." Stow, *Survey*, vol. ii. bk. v. 267.

¹ The same condition was made in the articles of settlement at Norwich. W. J. C. Moens, *Hug. Soc. Pub.*, i. 18, 19.

² Burn, *op. cit.*, 275. At Southampton it was agreed that the rents should not be higher than for the two years past.

also to have a place assigned them in which they might maintain poor strangers travelling, and they undertook to be responsible for their own poor. Five years later we learn that this was no light burden, as in a paper, claiming that they should be free from the ordinary poor rate,¹ they assert that the cost of their own poor was £30 annually besides their clothing, in addition to the expense to which they were put on behalf of passing strangers.² The practice of providing for the needs of their indigent members was general in the refugee colonies. It existed at Colchester,³ at Sandwich,⁴ and at Norwich.⁵

The town of Norwich also furnishes evidence of the method adopted for the preservation of order in an alien community;⁶ all important disputes among the strangers and between them and the natives were dealt with by the magistrates. For the settlement of trivial disagreements between the members of the colony, twelve men (eight of whom were elected by the Dutch and four by the Walloons) were chosen by the strangers from among their own number, the appointment of these officials being sanc-

¹ After 1612 the strangers at Norwich had to contribute to the town poor rate, which was levied on the value of their house property. *Hug. Soc. Pub.*, i. 61. Payment of clerical dues by the alien communities was usual. Moens, *Hug. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 427.

² Burn, *op. cit.*, 278.

³ P. Morant, *Hist. of Colchester*, in *Hist. of Essex* (1768), i. pp. 77, 78.

⁴ For an account of the relief of their poor, see paper by Moens, *Hug. Soc. Proc.*, v. p. 821.

⁵ *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, xx. 49, clx. 37. ⁶ *Hug. Soc. Pub.*, i. 28, 29.

tioned annually by the mayor. These men represented the colony in dealing with the town authorities; and besides securing good order among disputants, they were bound to see that such strangers as broke the laws were remanded. When the settlement at Stamford was proposed, one of the conditions suggested was that the aliens should select seven men for their governance, who should be sworn into office by the magistrate. These were to be elected and were to act in accordance with the precedent set at Norwich and Sandwich.¹

As an additional illustration of the status accorded to the new-comers, the conditions of settlement at Sandwich in 1561 may be quoted as typical; they are very similar to those of Canterbury, and were repeated in almost the same form when the settlement was effected at Maidstone.

"Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, &c., to our well beloved the Mayor, jurats and commonaltye of our towne and porte of Sandwiche . . . greatinge.

"For divers special considerations us movinge, as well for the helpe, repayre and amendment of our saide towne and porte of Sandwiche by plantinge in the same men of knowledge in sondry handicrafts, as also for the relief of certaine strangers now residing in our citie of London, being verye skilful therein, belonging to the church of strangers in our said citie of London, we of our gras especiall and mere mocion do by theis presents give and graunte lycence to all and everye persons strangers, as by the most reverend father in God the Archbishop of Canterburye and the Bishop of London for the tyme beinge shalbe unto youe signified to be persons mete to inhabite within our said towne and porte of Sandwiche for the exercise thereof the facultie of making saes, bay and other cloth, which hath not

¹ Strype, *Life of Parker* (1822): *Appendix lxxiii*, p. 210.

been used to be made in this our realme of Englonde, or for fishing in the seas, not extendinge the nombre of twentie, or fyve and twentie householders, accomptinge to everye household not above 10 or 12 persons, that they and everye of them may savelly repaire to our said towne and porte of Sandwich, and there by our consent and order inhabite and take houses for their habitacion and have suche and as manie servants as shall suffice for the exercise of the saide faculties there, not exceedinge the nombre above expressed without any payne, forfaecture or other losse, damage or hindrance to be sustained or incurred by youe or any of you, or by them or any of them, for or concerning the premises or any part thereof; any acte, statute, provision, usage, custome, prescription, lawe, or other thinge whatsoever to the contrarye hereof had or made in any wise notwithstandinge. And theis our letters shalbe unto you and every of you, and also unto them and every of them, from tyme to tyme a sufficient warrante in that behalf, to continue duringe our pleasure."¹

Some years after the colonies had been established, an attempt was made to regulate the residence of such among the strangers as were merchants in the towns, and to revive the restrictions imposed upon them by the statutes of Edward III. and Richard II.² Letters patent were obtained by a certain William Tipper in 1576, authorizing him to appoint hosts in London and other places, but the supervision of the merchant trade was denied in 1578. In Norwich, at least, Tipper's attempt to carry out his right came to nought, for the authorities had learnt fully to realize the benefits accruing to the town from the presence of foreigners, and they bargained with

¹ Boys, *Sandwich*: Appendix G, p. 740. *S. P. Dom.* Eliz., xviii. 9.

² The illegalities with which they were charged are recited at some length in a complaint of certain citizens of London. *S. P. Dom.* Eliz., lxxxi. 29.

Tipper for the surrender of his privilege.¹ Very probably this was the only outcome of the scheme in other places.

34. It is less easy to follow out in detail the arrangements which were made for the supervision of the industries practised by these Protestant refugees. The regulations of English industries, which had been growing up for centuries, culminated in the Elizabethan Act of Apprenticeship in 1562. We need not consider the clauses which had reference to the assessment of wages at present; the main provision of the measure may be regarded as establishing a vast system of technical education; it specified the callings which were open to different individuals, the length of apprenticeship required, and the proportion of apprentices who might be kept at any given time by one householder. It was impossible under these circumstances that aliens should be left free to carry on their trades in any fashion they chose, but it was necessary that some *modus vivendi* should be found if they were to earn their livings at all.

The law with regard to alien workmen at that date was exceedingly strict. The measure of Richard III., which had been passed with reference to Italian immigrants in 1484, had begun by enacting that no more alien artisans were to be allowed to settle in the country at all, except as the servants of English masters. If any new-comer wished to set up on his own account he was to be made to "depart into his own country again"; it seems

¹ Moens, *Hug. Soc. Pub.*, i. 40, 41.

as if the very reception of a great part of the Protestant refugees was in itself condemned by this unrepealed law. It was also enacted by the same measure that the alien workmen already established in the realm should not be allowed to have any alien apprentices except their own children. The whole meaning of the measure was to limit the alien invasion, and to insist that those who had come should teach their arts to Englishmen.

The measure which was passed in 1523 enforces the same general policy; no stranger was to have an alien apprentice, or to have more than two alien journeymen; they were not to work apart from Englishmen, but in such a fashion that natives might learn all the secrets of their trades. They were also brought under strict surveillance so far as the quality of their work was concerned; in London and in other towns, where companies of trades existed, the wardens of these companies were to have supervision over all the strangers practising a craft; and in other towns the municipal authorities were empowered to search and refuse strangers.¹

The difficulties of which we hear in the City of London, were chiefly connected with the supervision which the companies claimed to exercise over aliens. Many of the

¹ 14 & 15 Henry VIII. c. 2, par. 14. See also 32 Henry VIII. c. 16. It is rather curious to notice the trades which are specially noted in connection with this statute: blacksmiths, joiners, coopers and pouch-makers, and they only were compelled to use trade marks; by a later Act (22 Henry VIII. c. 13) alien bakers, brewers, surgeons and scriveners were exempted from its operation; noblemen and gentry were to be allowed to employ alien joiners and glaziers in their own work without molestation.

refugees, who settled in the city or the suburbs, were shoemakers, and they soon came into contact with the authorities of the Cordwainers' Company, who seem to have been a powerful body. They had secured a new charter from Queen Elizabeth, and an Act of Parliament in 1562 gave them widely extended powers of searching and of exacting quarterages. They had erected a new hall, and held a magnificent house-warming in 1575; and they determined to defend the privileges of the free shoemakers against the aliens and unfree Englishmen, who purchased leather and made shoes within the area over which they claimed supervision. They do not appear to have had much satisfaction as the result of their action, for three years later they were again petitioning the Lord Treasurer to interfere in their behalf and to restrain certain aliens and foreigners who disregarded their chartered claims.¹

The Company of Weavers took similar action in 1582, though it was directed against freemen of this city, who had learned silk-weaving from aliens²; this is in itself an incidental proof that the London silk-weavers did not keep their art to themselves. Naturally enough the complainants in this case got no support from the authorities; and when certain apprentices, who were plasterers by trade, organized an attack on aliens in 1586, they were promptly and easily suppressed³; but the city was more

¹ Stow, *Survey*, ii. bk. v. 300.

² *Ibid.*, ii. bk. v. 306. There is a good statement here of the curious custom of the city of London with regard to changing trades.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. bk. v. p. 436.

interested in asserting that the old order should be maintained in connection with transactions in the new sorts of cloth. Blackwell Hall was a centre to which the products of the old-established English manufacture were brought for sale; and the charge, which was levied as hallage, yielded a handsome revenue. The new drapery, on the other hand, was bought and sold in a sort of clandestine fashion, both in the city and the suburbs, and an ordinance was issued by the Mayor on 28th Oct., 1576, insisting that there should be a regular market for the new drapery in Basinghall Ward two days each week, and levying hallage on the goods thus brought for sale. The Norwich drapers resented this demand, and it was not effectively enforced; but, on the whole, the London authorities were able to control the industry of aliens settled within their bounds.

In the suburbs, which were rising rapidly to the west of London, things were different; the want of industrial regulation among the aliens and foreigners,¹ who were crowding into the fields beyond Lincoln's Inn and Soho, was one reason for the frequent proclamations² under Elizabeth, James and Charles against the expansion of the great town. In the reign of Charles I., an attempt was made to get over this particular difficulty by erecting a great industrial corporation in the suburbs.³ At another time it was proposed to divide the responsibility between

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, xx, 173.

² *Growth of Industry*, ii, 172-3.

³ Rymer, *Fœdera*, xx, 173. See also *S. P. Dom.* Chas I., ccex. 53; cccclxiii. 88; cccclxxii. 10.

the cities of London and Westminster, by assigning a definite area to each; but this project also fell to the ground, and no effective industrial regulation appears to have been exercised over the suburban aliens. The returns made by the Companies¹ in 1621 show that the various trades were jealously on their guard against alien competition;² while a petition in 1616 enumerates the grievances of the citizens most clearly; they gave expression to their dislike of the frugality of the aliens, and jealousy of the machinery they had introduced; but the complaint that the aliens kept their mysteries to themselves would be most likely to rouse the Crown or Parliament to interfere.

"Their chiefest cause of entertainment here of late," runs the petition, "was in charity to shroud them from persecution for religion; and, being here, their necessity became the mother of their ingenuitie in deviseing manye trades, before to us unknowne.

"The State, noting their diligence, and yet preventinge the future inconvenience, enacted two speciall lawes:—

"That they should enterteine Englishe apprentices and servants to learne those trades, the neglect whereof giveth them advantage to keepe their mysteries to themselves, which hath made them bould of late to devise engines for workinge of tape, lace, ribbin and such, wherein one man doth more amongst them than seven Englishe men can doe; soe as their cheape sale of these comodities beggereth all our Englishe artificers of that trade and enricheth them.

"Since the makinge of the last Statute they are thought to be

¹ *Lists of Foreigners*, 1618-1688 (*Camden Society*), vol. lxxxii. pp 23 seq.

² The opposition to foreigners in London is evidenced by the proclamation which the Lord Mayor found necessary to address to the Companies of the city in 1581 (Clode, *Merchant Tailors*, i. 198), enjoining them to give "good usage" to certain Frenchmen.

increased ten for one, so as no tenement is left to an Englishe artificer to inhabite in divers parts of the cytie and subburbs, but they take them over their heads at a greate rate.

"Soe their numbers causeth the enhauncinge of the prices of vittells and house rents, and much furthereth the late disorderly new buildings, which is so burdonous to the subject that his Majestie hath not any worke to performe for the good of his comons (especially in cities and townes) then by the takinge of the benefitt of the law upon them, a thinge which is don against his owne subjects be common informers. But their daylie flockinge hithere without such remedie is like to grow scarce toller-able.¹

In some of the other towns where they settled, the question of their interference with existing industries was a burning one. At Canterbury,² and also at Sandwich,³ pains were taken to secure that they should not trespass on existing callings, but practise arts which were new to the town; while at Hull effect was given to the principle that if they did practise established callings, they should come to an arrangement with the local authorities;⁴ no alien stranger might practise the craft of cordwainery or shoemaking⁵ without agreement and licence of the fellow-

¹ *S. P. Dom. Jas. I.*, lxxxviii. 112 (1616).

² Burn, *Hist. of French, Walloon, Dutch and other Protestant Refugees*, p. 275. The silk-weavers were subsequently formed (1676) into an independent corporation under Charles II. Hasted, *Hist. of Canterbury*, i. 94.

³ Boys, *Sandwich*, p. 740, and *Hug. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 228 seq. Cf. Norwich, *Hug. Soc. Pub.*, i. 18; Southampton, *Hug. Soc. Proc.*, iii. 58; and Colchester, Morant, *Essex*, i. 76.

⁴ Cordwainer's composition in 1564. Lambert, *Two Thousand Years of Gild Life* (1891), 316.

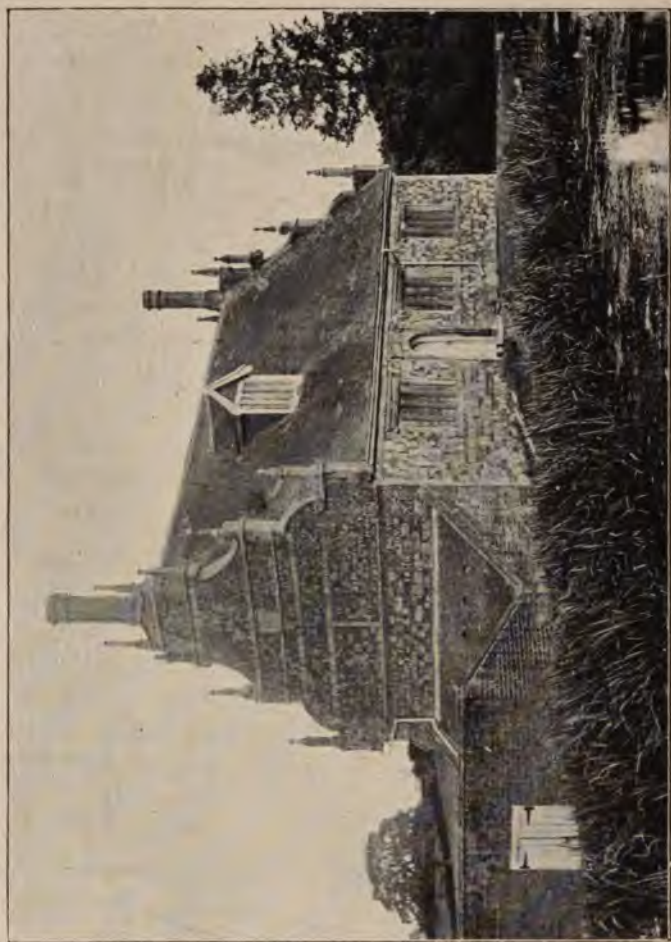
⁵ It is perhaps worth noting that in 1633 complaints arose from the Society of Skinners, Whittawers, and Glovers in Preston, Wigan, Lancaster, Liverpool, Manchester, and Newton

ship of that mystery in the town. The pressure of competition at their doors gave a new importance to these old organizations, and it is obvious that just at this period the companies obtained a new lease of life in various towns, such as Coventry and Hull,¹ if indeed they were not created anew. They obtained charters from the Crown, and thus occupied a more dignified position than the merely municipal craft guilds had previously done. It is not easy to see what new economic function, distinct from the regulation of aliens and prevention of baneful competition, they could be intended to subserve.

35. Such were the attempts to draw the aliens into the industrial system existing in the country; in two or three cases a somewhat different line was taken, and they were permitted to organize their own industry and enforce the ordinances they themselves deemed wise. Neither in Norwich, nor in Colchester, did they secure this privilege without a struggle; in Norwich they came into conflict with the dyers, and there was an attempt to oust them, but they soon secured the favour of the city authorities, and the system of searching cloth which they approved was authoritatively adopted. In Colchester the struggle was more severe; the Dutch had, in apparent defiance of a

in Makerfield, against "interlopers," and the Judges of Assize were ordered to inquire into their grievances. *Lancashire and Cheshire Antiq. Soc.* (1892), p. 6.

¹ Lambert, *loc. cit.*, p. 316. The Corvisors of Lichfield renewed their statutes in 1625 (*Lancs. and Cheshire Antiq. Soc.*, 1892, p. 12). And the cutlers of Hallamshire sought a new charter in 1624. Hunter, *Hallamshire*. p. 151.



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statute, erected a hall and made illegal ordinances for their own trade. But the complaint had no success, and under James I. they were confirmed in their privileges of self regulation.

As an industrially organized colony, this was in some ways the most important of the settlements of the time. The manufacture of Bays continued to be very important, and the cloth thus produced was an important article of export. There is still standing near the town an interesting monument of these Dutch bay-makers; in 1591 they erected a fulling mill, which was worked by water from the fish-pond of the ancient abbey. The abbey buildings were utilized in connection with the new manufacture,—not as in Malmesbury, where they formed a factory, but as a quarry from which the materials for the new mill were obtained. The beautiful inlaid work of the perpendicular period (see p. 189) reappears in the horizontal courses of the Dutch building. The trade continued to flourish during the seventeenth century, but suffered severely in the eighteenth, when imported cotton fabrics began to be used in preference to light woollen goods.

36. The refugees were more successful in securing their own organization for religious than for industrial purposes. There were quite a number of centres where they had their own worship, their own ecclesiastical discipline, their own registers of baptisms and marriages, and, as noted above, their own provision for their own poor. Sometimes, as at Canterbury, they had the right to use a portion of an existing church; more often they had

churches assigned them, or built their own.¹ Just as the immigrants had caused difficulties in connection with the elaborately established industrial system of the times, so the existence of these privileged colonies was a difficulty in connection with attempts to enforce the established ecclesiastical discipline.

✕ It was, according to the current ideas of the time, the part of the civil magistrate to assist in the enforcement of religious duty; and one recognised religious duty was that of attending service in the parish church. From this the aliens were exempt; and the native Englishman, who disliked the established order, must have felt it an injustice that he should not have the same liberty for his conscientious scruples as was enjoyed by men of foreign birth. On the other hand, there were grounds for saying that it was not unreasonable to make exceptional arrangements for refugees to have their accustomed worship in a language they understood; but that a mere temporary permission should not be allowed to become a permanent institution, and that the descendants of the refugees might be fairly expected to conform to the religious system of the country, in which their fathers had found an asylum and they themselves had been born. This ✕ was the position taken by Land in his attack on these separatist organizations.² Though there was much to

¹ The seventeenth-century colony at Thorney Abbey of Dutch drainers used the parish church, while the Dutchmen in the district of the Isle of Axholme erected a church of their own at Sandtoft.

² Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* (1862), viii. 56. See Agnew, vol. i. 21, 22,

be said for this policy from the ordinary standpoint of the time, the privileges actually conferred had not been explicitly limited in the sense he would have wished, and the congregations which survived maintained their immunities, and were probably strengthened by the sympathy of those who were opposed to Laud. It was one of the points on which Prynne laid stress in getting up the case against the Archbishop.¹

37. The complaints, partly industrial and partly ecclesiastical, which were from time to time made against these separately organized colonies, were not passed over in silence. They were carefully examined in the time of James I.

In 1615 a committee was formed to inquire into the alleged grievances, and orders were issued by the Lord Mayor to all the City Companies, directing them to state their case.² In accordance with this order the Weavers Company formulated their complaints.³ The support which the King promised the strangers against informers⁴ in 1616 called forth another petition from the Londoners; this has already been quoted.⁵ The citizens apparently succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of the

and authorities quoted, especially Bulteel, *Relation of Foreign Churches in Kent* (1645), and Letter from the Norwich Churches as to the difficulties of Laud's policy.

¹ Prynne, *Complete History of the Tryall and Condemnation of William Laud* (1646), p. 27.

² *S. P. Dom. Jas. I.*, I. lxxxi. 9.

³ *Ibid.*, lxxxi. 56.

⁴ *Ibid.*, cxxxi. 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, lxxxviii. 112. See above, p. 168.

Council.¹ Two years later returns were ordered of all the strangers dwelling in London and Southwark.²

Here the matter was allowed to rest; but in 1621 it was taken up again, and a regular commission sat on the alien question.³ The warrant for this commission was issued in July. Its members were the Lord Keeper, the High Treasurer, the Attorney and Solicitor-General, and nine others. These commissioners were instructed to take, "with all convenient speed," a written survey of all the strangers in England, and were to register their names, qualities, and professions. This was to be done annually. Foreigners were to submit to all the rules touching servants and apprentices to which Englishmen were subject; they were also to pay quarterage. Merchants who only sold in gross were to continue their calling as formerly; but those who were occupied in handicraft or manual trades, or who sold by retail, were to be restrained. Every alien householder was to pay a tax of twelvepence; all others over seven years of age, sixpence, except such as were servants to the English, and they were exempt from all taxation with the exception of a registration fee. Special favour was to be shown to any stranger who had brought or who should bring in a new trade, and in this case the introducer was to exercise his craft freely for seven years. The commission

¹ W. J. C. Moens, in *Hug. Soc. Proc.*, i. p. 65, quoting *Ruytinck's MSS.*

² *S. P. Dom. Jas. I.*, xlix. 22-24, 42-47, and cxviii.

³ *Ibid.*, Warrant Books, vol. xv. bundle xxiv. no. 15a.

was to be no empty formality; the aliens were either to acquiesce in its rulings or leave the country, under pain of such punishment as the Attorney-General should adjudge legal.¹ There had been some talk of appointing an officer to exercise a personal supervision of this kind in the reign of Elizabeth,² but nothing had come of it, and there was at all events an apparent need for appointing a commission to supplement and support the action of local authorities.

The returns collected in connection with these efforts supply an immense amount of information which is of interest to the historian; but, on the whole, they failed to prove the need of the special intervention that had been contemplated. The several companies of Goldsmiths,³ Coopers,⁴ Clockmakers,⁵ Leatherdressers,⁶ Cutlers,⁷ and Dyers⁸ in London had an opportunity of pressing their grievances.

A second commission was constituted in the following year;⁹ against this the aliens promptly protested.¹⁰ The charges addressed to its members were similar to those of 1621, the prominent point insisted upon being that a proper difference should be put between the aliens and

¹ *S. P. Dom. Jas. I.*, vol. cxxii. 48.

² Monson, Dymoch, and Sir T. Mildmay, in my *Growth of Industry and Commerce*, ii. 50. William Herle, in 1571, had made a proposal for a survey of foreigners, and had tried to obtain the office of surveyor. *S. P. D. Eliz.*, lxxxi. 34, 35.

³ *S. P. Dom. Jas. I.*, cxxvii. 12. ⁴ *Ibid.*, cxxvii. 14.

⁵ *Ibid.*, cxxvii. 15. ⁶ *Ibid.*, cxxvii. 20.

⁷ *Ibid.*, cxxvii. 17. ⁸ *Ibid.*, cxxxiii. 4-9.

⁹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, xvii. 372-3. ¹⁰ *S. P. Dom. Jas. I.*, cxxxi. 12.

natives for the satisfaction of the King's subjects. Special favour was to be shown to such of the French nation as had come to England owing to troubles at home.

Soon after their appointment, the commissioners placed a tax on all English goods sold by strangers, equal in amount to half the export duty on such commodities.¹ In March 1623, the French and Dutch congregations appealed against this impost, and Heath was ordered to render an account of the proceedings of the commission.² Nothing more is heard of this body, and the net result of the whole investigation does not appear to have been great.³

So far as can be gathered from the returns in 1622, the colonies which had formerly existed at Ipswich and Yarmouth had ceased to exist;⁴ while the aliens in other towns practised a great variety of callings, some of which were newly introduced. It seems to have been thought that, so far as old-established industries were concerned, the companies already possessed all the powers they required.

The return of 1616⁵ shows that there were in London 1,343 persons practising 121 different trades. In many of these they are likely to have introduced some improve-

¹ *S. P. Dom. Jas. I.*, cxxxiii. 2. ² *Ibid.*, cxxxix. 60.

³ In 1626 it was ordered that aliens should "use their trades without let or hindrance." *Hug. Soc. Proc.*, iii. 137. No annual returns appear beyond those of 1622.

⁴ There were a few Dutch people at Hythe at this date. *S. P. Dom. Jas. I.*, cxxix., 66.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. lxxxviii. 113.

ments,¹ for England was very backward in manufactures of every sort in Tudor times; but it is worth while to notice a few cases where they got the credit of introducing an art which had not been practised at all. The establishment of glass-engraving in London,² and also of new potteries,³ is attributed to them. Silk-weaving was begun in Canterbury, and thread-making at Maidstone; the new drapery was a fresh development at Norwich, Colchester, and Sandwich; linen-weaving, printing, and the making of gallipots⁴ were also started by them at Norwich; the making of needles and parchment were subsidiary industries at Colchester; and many of those who practised industrial callings were also skilled as gardeners. The introduction of lace-making is attributed to the refugees

¹ As, for instance, in glass-making. There had been foreign glass-makers in the time of Henry VIII., and others from Murano under Edward VI. In 1565 an unsuccessful attempt was made to set up the manufacture (*S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, xxxvii. 3). Two years later Becku and Carré, Low Countrymen, obtained royal licence for glazing (*Ibid.*, xliii. 42-46, and xlvii. 56. Cf. *Hist. MSS. Com., Report VII.*, p. 621). Verselyne, a Venetian, began the making of drinking glasses. (*S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, ccxi. 40; also see *Hist. MSS. Com., Rep. XIII.*, Ap. iv. p. 62). But there was a difficulty in regard to this manufacture on account of the wood required. See the Bills on the subject in the Lords. *Hist. MSS. Com., Report III.*, 5. The manufacture of flint glass is said to have been introduced by refugee families from Lorraine, who settled at Stourbridge, in Worcestershire, in the sixteenth century. Nash, *Worcestershire* (1782), ii. 212.

² *Hug. Soc. Pub.*, viii.: *Introduction*, xlv.

³ Stow, *Survey*, ii. bk. v. 327.

⁴ Jasper, Andreas, and Jacob Janssen of Antwerp petitioned in 1570 for a monopoly of the manufacture of galley (glazed) tiles and apothecaries' vessels. *Lansdowne*, xii. 58, 59.

of the Low Countries.¹ Flemish names figure in the church registers of Honiton in the end of the sixteenth century,² and many others of the same extraction are to be found in Bedfordshire.³ Tradition assigns the origin of the manufactures at Newport Pagnel, Stony Stratford, and Aylesbury, and also those of Northampton, to the same source.⁴ The trade was prospering in Northampton, Buckinghamshire, and Devon in 1650, and in 1626 a school for teaching the art had been established at Great Marlow.⁵

In attempting to discriminate the precise economic influence exercised by religious refugees, it must be remembered that many of the foreigners who settled in this country came for business reasons. Some of these, like the Keswick miners, were Protestants who desired to have their own religious services,⁶ but they had not come to this country as an asylum from persecutions on the Continent. Cecil appears to have been keenly interested in developing the resources of the country in many ways, and especially in utilizing native materials so as to render us independent of foreign lands. In many cases this could only be done by accepting the assistance of foreign undertakers and foreign workmen. We have projects in

¹ Poole, *Huguenots*, 92. Smiles, *Huguenots in England and Ireland* (1889), 110.

² Palliser, *History of Lace* (1875), p. 355.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 336, 343. These laces are of old Flemish design.

⁵ Felkin, *Lace*, in *British Manufacturing Industries*, edited by G. P. Bevan (1877), i. p. 46.

⁶ *S. P. Dom.* Eliz, xlvi. 80.

connection with dyeing¹ and with the manufacture of canvas,² of paper³ and of soap,⁴ and for the production of saltpetre.⁵ There were also numerous competing proposals for the manufacture of salt.⁶ Humphrey was very energetic in attempting to develop new branches of the manufacture of brass; with the help of German associates he endeavoured to mine for copper and calamine stone, and he established wire⁷ and battery⁸ works at Tintern. Cutlery had long been made at Sheffield; but the improvement in the manufacture of knives at this date was in all probability due to the settlement of Flemish cutlers,

¹ Caspar Vosbergh at Stamford (*S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, lxxvii. 65); Peter de Croix (*Lansdowne*, ix. 62); Grafignias (*Ibid.*, l. 16).

² *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, xvii. 48, 49; xviii. 22. This was attempted at Stamford, but the alien settlers do not seem to have taken part in it. *Ibid.*, xliii. 11.

³ Sir J. Spilman (*S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, cexvii. 70).

⁴ Groyett (Pat. 3 Eliz., p. 18, m. 1); Fauk (*S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, cxxvi. 45).

⁵ Stephinsson (*Lansdowne*, xxiv. 51, 55, 56, 57); Leonard Engelbright (*Ibid.*, xxiv. 54); Bovyat (*S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, cvi. 53).

⁶ Francis Bertie of Antwerp (*S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, xxxiii. 51; xxxix. 26); Caspar Seeler (*Ibid.*, xxxiii. 5); Mount (*Ibid.*, xl. 12; xli. 13); Back (*Ibid.*, xliii. 3); Backholt, Van Trere, and others (*Ibid.*, xxxvi. 40; xliii. 33); Franchard (*Ibid.*, lxxxiii. 12); Baroncelly (Pat. 6 Eliz. p. 3, m. 12, d).

⁷ *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, xxxvii. 21; xl. 11; xli. 12. Godfrey Box of Liège is also credited with introducing wire drawing in 1590 (Harrison, *Description of England* (Furnival), ii. 37). Wire making was started at Esher in Surrey by Mommer and Demetrius; and there was a Dutchman who opened a wire mill at Richmond in 1662. The making of Spanish needles was begun in England by a German in 1566. *Ibid.*, ii. 34.

⁸ Probably for the work that is now done in stamping mills. Men were brought from Holland to establish the brass manufacture at Bristol in the eighteenth century. Nicholls, *Bristol* (1880), iii. 158.

under the patronage of the Earl of Shrewsbury;¹ others are said to have begun the manufacture of steel at Shotley Bridge, near Newcastle.²

Another of our important industries seems to have resulted from the coming of the refugees. Cotton was imported from Antwerp in 1560;³ the first reference to this textile as a fabric of English make was in 1641,⁴ and in 1660 it appears as a manufacture of Manchester. During the interval which had elapsed between 1560 and 1641, the sack of Antwerp had taken place (1585), and the consequent flight of the inhabitants brought many refugees to England. The same period is marked by a great growth in the population of Manchester. In 1578, in a petition to the Queen for the reconstitution of Christ's College, Manchester, the number of townspeople was estimated at ten thousand; by 1635, in a similar petition, the population had doubled itself.⁵ These facts, taken in conjunction, point to the probability that it was by refugees that the cotton manufacture was established there.

There were also engineering works of various kinds undertaken during this period with the assistance of

¹ F. Callis, *Sheffield*, in vol. iv. of *British Manufacturing Industries* (1877), p. 156. The Jacques de Liège knife suggests a foreign origin; it became the pattern for the later clasp knife.

² Smiles, *Huguenots in England and Ireland* (1889), p. 111.

³ Macpherson, ii. p. 131.

⁴ Lewis Roberts, *Treasury of Traffic*, pp. 32, 33. In 1660, in the Discourse, *Provision for the Poor*, cotton was stated to be a trade of Manchester.

⁵ *Manchester Court Leet Records*, Appendix, p. 82 (Chetham Soc., vol. lxx.).

German immigrants. Considerable works in the harbour at Dover were carried out for the Government under the advice of Poyntz,¹ and Flemish workmen were employed upon them.² Humphrey Bradley, a Dutch engineer of high repute,³ was also consulted about them.⁴ He turned his attention to the reclaiming of marshes; his suggestions are embodied in *A Discourse of Humphrey Bradley, a Brabanter, concerning the Fens in Norfolk*.⁵ In connection with the draining of parts of Holland in Lincolnshire, foreigners were consulted,⁶ and the reclaiming of Plumstead Marshes was undertaken somewhat earlier by Giacopo Acontio of Trent.⁷ Waterworks for London were projected by an Italian named Genebelli.⁸ It is evident that the Englishman of that generation had much to learn both in regard to planning and executing works of this character.

The industrial influence exerted by these colonies must have been enormous; but it was for the most part very local; large areas of the country were untouched by the

¹ *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, cliii. 56, etc. ² *Ibid.*, cl. 82; clxxii. 18.

³ He carried out extensive draining works and improved the water communication of France for Henri IV. Fagniez, *L'Économie Sociale de France*, 26, 193.

⁴ *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, clxxiii. 96.

⁵ *Lansdowne MSS.*, lx. 34. The advice of Engelbert was also highly thought of. *Ibid.*, cx. 7.

⁶ *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, ccxiii. 28. *Lansdowne MSS.*, xli. 45 seq.

⁷ *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, *Add.* xi. 99. See also 23 *Eliz.* c. 13.

⁸ *Lansdowne MSS.*, ci. 14. He also had a scheme for draining Kent and Sussex (*Ibid.*, cx. 8, 11). He appears to have been employed in repairing the defences of Gravesend at the time of the Armada. *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, ccxvii. 4.

residence of the refugees. The method of their immigration, and the necessity of distributing them in groups, had prevented them from being scattered generally, but at each centre the knowledge of the arts they practised was not kept entirely to themselves, but diffused itself more or less rapidly among their English neighbours.

38. It might have been supposed that considerable numbers would have sought refuge in Scotland at this time, and that the Protestantism of the northern kingdom would be more congenial than the ecclesiastical system of England; but the traces of immigration to Scotland at this time are comparatively few. It may be, however, that, just because immigrants who settled there could accept established usages more readily, they were more readily absorbed in the general population, and did not maintain themselves as separate colonies. There was neither such a highly organized industrial system with authoritative searching, nor such stringent ecclesiastical regulation in Scotland as in England. In addition to this, the willingness of the gilds to admit Flemish workmen¹ resulted in their ready amalgamation with the native craftsmen. The social features, which occasioned the separate organization of the alien colonies in England and gave rise to their history, had no real correlative in Scotland.

But there are cases where the presence of aliens can be traced. In 1582 two Dutch printers were employed

¹ A. W. C. Hallen, *Huguenots in Scotland* (*Hug. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 167).

in Edinburgh,¹ and in 1584 a printing press was set up there by Vautrollier, a Huguenot.² Two years later, Pierre du Moulin, a minister from France, settled in Edinburgh with a considerable number of refugees.³ Nicholas Langlois, another exile, became a French teacher,⁴ and two French fugitives were engaged to mend the city roads.⁵

James VI. was desirous of encouraging the cloth trade, and in 1587 an Act was passed in favour of three Flemish weavers,⁶ who sought leave to set up their craft. For the furtherance of their "gude and godlie enterprise" a sum of money was assigned, and they were to be exempted from taxation and town dues. Naturalization was to be granted to them, they were to be created burgesses of whatever town they selected for their abode, and permission was given for the establishment of a church of their own, subject to the laws and discipline of the Church of Scotland.⁷ The conditions laid down were that they should remain five years, and that they should bring

¹ W. T. Dobson, *Bassandyne Bible* (1887), p. 186.

² Chambers, *Domestic Annals* (1858), i. 155.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 164.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 95.

⁵ A. W. C. Hallen, *Huguenots in Scotland* (*Hug. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 171).

⁶ *Acta Parl.*, Jac. VI. (1587), c. 119.

⁷ Disputes soon arose between two of the Flemings and the authorities of the Kirk. These men were ordered either to submit or to leave the kingdom. *Edinburgh Burgh Records*, 8 May, 1588. Quoted by Hallen (*Hug. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 168). In 1588 other Flemings seem to have come. *Edinburgh Burgh Records*. Quoted by Hallen (*Hug. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 169).

thirty weavers and fullers, and such other workmen as should be necessary for making bays, serges, and other cloths. Good workmanship was to be ensured by the appointment of an Edinburgh burgess as searcher and sealer of their goods. The weavers were to take "na prentices bot Scottis boys and madinnis," for whom they were to provide during the five years of apprenticeship, and the Flemings were to see that none of their company fell into idleness or want.

In 1600 liberty was accorded for the settlement of a hundred clothworkers, and favourable conditions were again made for their establishment.¹ In the following spring² it was proposed to bring in twenty strangers, artificers; in the summer a settlement of Flemings was effected. Bischof, a refugee, agreed to come from Norwich to work in Edinburgh;³ and twelve weavers from Leyden⁴ were received at Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Ayr. At this time the strangers in Edinburgh were suffering from opposition on the part of the borough

¹ *Privy Council Records (Scotland)*, vol. vi. p. 123. There is no record of any arrivals consequent on this.

² *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs (1597-1614)*, (Edin., 1870), 14 Feb., 1601.

³ *Ibid.*, 10 July, 1601. These settlements from Norwich and Leyden were the result of a commission which had been despatched to Flanders, France, and England, to induce craftsmen to immigrate. *Ibid.*, 3 July, 1601.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 10 July, 1601. Eight years later there were alien weavers in the Canongate. Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, i. 421. Attention has been drawn to the fact that many names at Muthill and Perth are of Flemish origin, also that many manorial meal mills were utilized for fulling from this period. Hallen, *Huguenots in Scotland*, in *Hug. Soc. Proc.* ii. 174, 5.

magistrates. The baillies were summoned before the Privy Council to reply to the complaints of the strangers lately brought for the cloth manufacture, who alleged that "they were neither intertaneit nor put to the work," and that separation retarded their progress.¹ The Council ordered that these grievances should be redressed, and that the weavers should be suffered to live together in Edinburgh.

With regard to these Flemish artificers and other foreigners who arrived in Scotland in the latter half of the sixteenth century, it is impossible to say whether they were, or were not, exiles for conscience sake, though it seems as if the settlement of some of them had been more directly due to the economic inducements offered to them. Eustacius Roche had a patent granted to him for the manufacture of salt.² Several Flemings obtained mining rights;³ and in 1590 a German, Peter Groot Heare, and several associates, were licensed by the Privy Council to make paper for nine years.⁴ So far as Ireland is concerned, only a solitary instance has come under my notice during this period; a settlement of refugees was

¹ *Privy Council Records (Scotland)*, vi. p. 274. 24 July, 1601.

² *Ibid.*, iv. 319, 20.

³ Cornelius de Vos in 1567, and Gray. Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, i. 50, 51. Petierison in 1575. *Privy Council Records*, ii. 506, 598. Arnold Bronekhurst, in 1580. Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, i. 50, 51. Eustacius Roche, in 1583. *Privy Council Records (Scotland)*, iii. p. 602; iv. 22. The Keswick Company mentioned above (p. 123) entered into negotiations for mining for gold on Crawford Moor. *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, xl. 79, 80; xli. 38; xlviii. 14.

⁴ Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, i. 195.

made under the patronage of Sir Henry Sidney at Swords, near Dublin, where the manufacture of ticking and leather work was carried on.¹

39. Great as was the industrial influence which was exercised by the colonies of religious refugees, their presence in England was fraught with far-reaching consequences of other kinds. They had a responsibility of their own with regard to providing for the poor, and they were privileged to maintain their own religious rites; in each aspect the effect of their example was remarkable.

One of the most characteristic features of English industrial life in the present day is the existence of great Friendly Societies established on a sound financial basis. They are a form of self-help which has proved so successful that there is less inclination here than on the Continent to rely on State intervention and assistance; as the results of combined industrial effort they are a standing protest against the socialistic tendency of the Elizabethan poor law. If English workmen are more self-reliant than their continental brothers it is, partly at least, because of the great benefit societies which they have built up by their own efforts. The extraordinary importance of these societies only comes into light, when we remember that the Trades Union movement is an offshoot of the Friendly Society, and that it was only in their character of Friendly Societies that Trades Unions

¹ Sir Henry Sidney's *Memoir of His Government in Ireland*, quoted in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. v. 306.

were first recognised as permissible institutions. But though the Friendly Society, with its offshoot, the Trades Union, is characteristically English now, it is not a native institution; it seems to have had its origin in the Elizabethan colonies of refugees. They were responsible for the maintenance of their own poor, and in their method of fulfilling this duty they set an example of organized frugality which native Englishmen began to copy in the eighteenth century. Just as the weavers of the twelfth century established associations which served as the type of the mediæval craft gild, so did the organization, which their circumstances forced upon the refugees, serve as the model on which Friendly Societies came to be formed. It was thus that the much-lauded frugality of the aliens embodied itself in institutions for mutual self-help.

The existence of these colonies had also an important bearing on the political and religious changes which occurred in the seventeenth century, and which were embodied in the triumph of Whig principles at the Revolution settlement. The close inter-connection between religious conviction and political opinion and action was the crux of statesmen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Politics were necessarily more or less determined by religious considerations; the very origin of these colonies of refugees was an evidence of the fact. It was possible to maintain in theory—as one or two persons did—that the State had nothing to do with religious conviction. But in days when some men preached assassination as a religious duty, and

others claimed a religious right to disregard the legal claims of property, it was impossible for the statesmen to accept religious toleration in a wide sense. Toleration for all the vagaries of fanatics of every sort meant social anarchy. The fundamental problem which statesmen had to face was this—How far can the State with safety be *indifferent* to the varieties of religious opinion? Laud held that it could be indifferent to varieties of opinions so long as one worship and discipline was maintained. The continued existence of the refugee separatist congregations, without political danger, gave a practical demonstration of the possibility of carrying this sort of policy farther than he approved. The Whigs held that the forms of ecclesiastical worship and discipline might be safely regarded as a matter of indifference by the State.

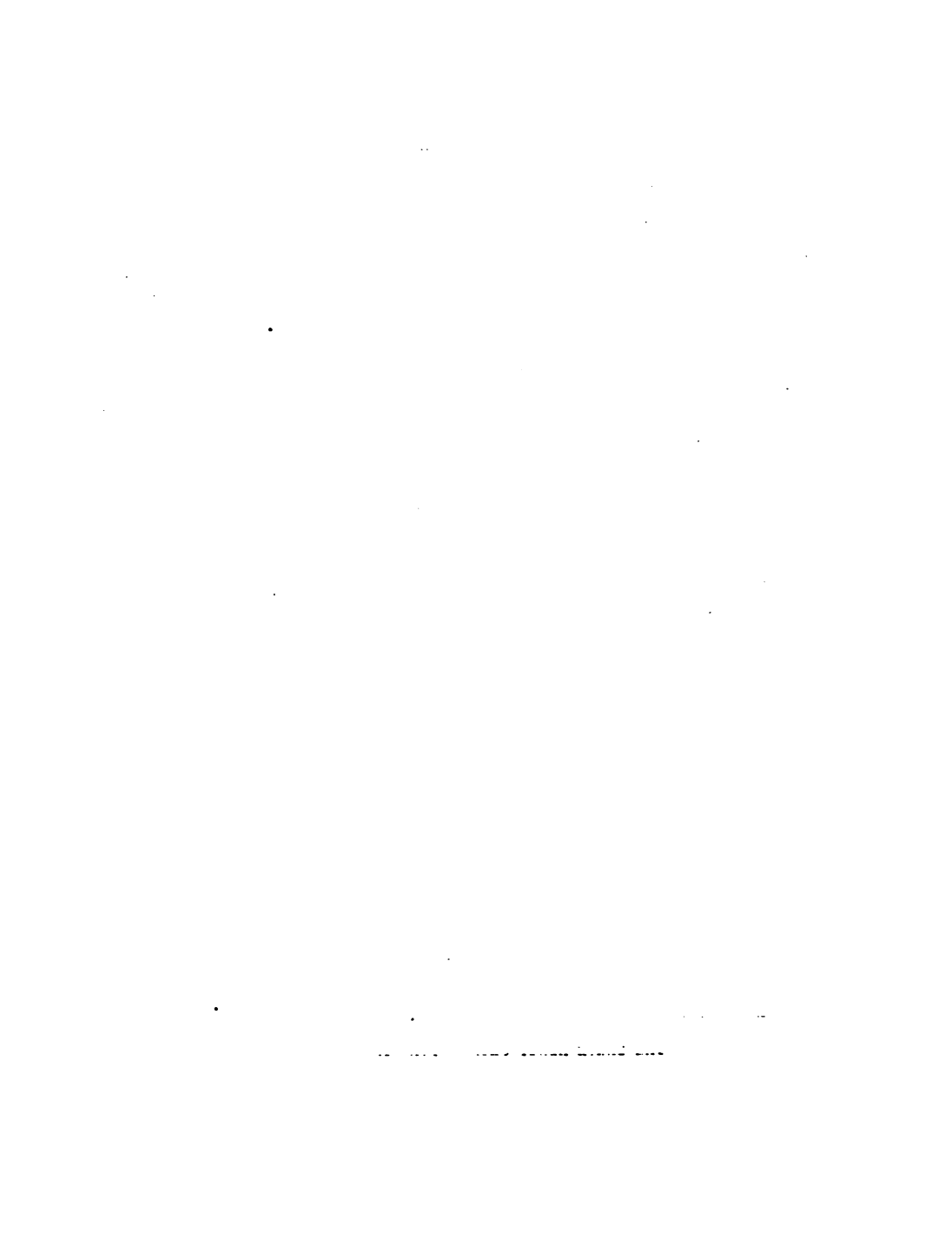
x These communities were not in themselves advocates of toleration; they took their part in the condemning of heretical opinion,¹ but they made for the policy of civil toleration, not by advocating it, but by the experience they afforded of its working. To the minds of Elizabeth's advisers, the Roman priests and Catholic worship were centres for foreign intrigue against the Crown; to the minds of Cromwell and his majors-

¹ J. S. Burn, *Hist. of French, Walloon, Dutch, and other Protestant Refugees*, 190. Utenhove took the initiative in inducing Grindal to excommunicate Hambstedius, an upholder of Anabaptist doctrines, and certain Anabaptists, from the Flemish Church in London. Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre*, i. 117.

general, the Prayer-Book and the ministrations of duly-ordained clergy, appeared to be the means of keeping alive an attachment to royalty that was a danger to the common weal; to the men of the Restoration Parliament, conventicles were gatherings which might be used for political purposes by those who had close connections with the regicides. But the congregations of refugees maintained themselves without being used for treasonable purposes, and when they were largely increased by another wave of exiles, who were bitterly hostile to our hereditary foe, they seemed to be a political strength, rather than a danger. It was not by what they taught, but by their mere existence and the experience it afforded, that they exerted such a powerful influence in this direction.



THE BLACK ABBEY GATE, COLCHESTER.



INTERCOURSE WITH THE DUTCH

V

INTERCOURSE WITH THE DUTCH

40. There have been two great waves of immigration by Protestant refugees from the Netherlands, in the time of Alva, and 120 years later, on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Between these dates, there was a vast amount of intercourse between England and the newly-founded republic which had defied the power of Spain. Political and religious affinities brought the two nations together, though at times mutual jealousies and rivalry kept them apart. In the strained state of feeling it was impossible that there should be much friendly communication between Englishmen and countries like France or Spain, while the old trading intercourse with Germany had also broken down. There were no similar obstacles to frequent communication with Holland; and, as a direct result, there was a decided modification in many English institutions and habits of thought.

The intercourse was of two kinds; we have not a few cases of Englishmen who visited Holland for a time, and became familiarized with Dutch political, industrial, or commercial practice; it would be almost true to say that there was hardly a leading man in

the last half of the century, from Charles II. downwards, who had not had some experience of the kind. But, besides the visitors to Holland, there were also immigrants from Holland. It is not easy to assess how much each of these classes had to do with the conscious imitation of the Dutch which went on during this period; it is at least true to say, that the immigrants took a leading part in suggesting and carrying out the changes by which England and English ways were brought into close accord with the Dutch model.

In writing about the Walloon colonies, there was a temptation to dwell on the analogy between these separatist settlements and the Flemish weavers' gilds, of which we read in twelfth-century towns. In a similar fashion we may note in passing the analogy between the Norman influence exerted in England under the Confessor and the Dutch influence which was brought to bear in England in the century before the Revolution. There had been a deliberate imitation of Norman methods, and introduction of Norman statesmen, which rendered it possible for the first William to come as a conqueror; and there was a long preparation in the deliberate imitation of Dutch methods, or the nation would not have been ready to welcome the landing of the third William, and to accept him as a king. The parallel is sufficiently close, despite the distance of time and intermediate constitutional and social growth, to serve as a convenient basis for dealing with the chief alien influence in the seventeenth century.

(a) There were many merchants who migrated from

Rouen to England after the Norman Conquest; and Dutch men of business were a very important class among the precursors of the Dutch invasion. They came to a country where commerce was developing rapidly, and they entered into keen competition with the London merchants, both in trade and finance. Since the time of the Edwards, when the Jews were expelled and the Bardi ruined, the alien immigrants to this country had not, on the whole, been moneyed men; but in the seventeenth century we find the wealthy settlers once more competing in foreign commerce and assisting in the financial affairs of State. The re-introduction of the Jews under Cromwell is not without significance.

(b) We also have, as at the Norman time, a considerable immigration of artisans, though here also there is a difference. They came, not in the wake of Norman barons, but rather in the wake of Dutch capitalists or undertakers. The most important movement of the kind was the great attempt to reclaim Hatfield Chase and to drain the Fens; and this was accomplished by Vermuyden, an engineer of Dutch extraction, and by the labour of Dutch settlers.

(c) The military element, which was most striking at the Norman Conquest, was not altogether absent in the seventeenth century, though it was comparatively unimportant. William III. brought with him a few regiments of troops from Holland who did not return there, but found homes in England and Ireland;¹ and

¹ They were, for the most part, French refugees who had found a temporary home in Holland. See below p. 244.

the suspicion which attached to his foreign officers, and the constitutional disabilities which were imposed on them,¹ serves as a curious echo of the hatred of Norman favourites, which broke out so bitterly in the reign of the Conqueror.

These few words of comparison may serve, not only to bring out the real resemblances between the two periods, but also—and this is even more important—to mark the contrast as well.

41. It has been pointed out above that the industrial jealousy of the refugees, and the difficulty of enforcing regulations upon them, seem to have given a new impetus to the formation of companies for particular crafts. There can be but little doubt, I think, that jealousy of alien merchants contributed to maintain the great merchant companies in life, when they had ceased to be obviously beneficial either economically or politically. All through the seventeenth century the relative advantages of company trading and of "free" trading were under discussion, from the time, in 1604, when the Commons passed bills against the companies which were rejected in the Lords,² till the Revolution swept away the chief basis of their chartered privileges. Even then, however, the matter was not fully threshed out; as after a period of violent controversy, the monopoly of the East India trade was reserved by statute in the hands of a single Company,³ and the privileges of the Turkey Company enabled them

¹ 12 & 13 W. III. c. 3 § 3.

² *Journals of the House of Commons*, i, 218-221, 229, 232-3, 252-3.

³ 6 Anne, c. 17.

to continue to dominate over the commerce with the Levant.¹

The formation of companies, and establishment of factories at definite points, were of great advantage for carrying on business, because English merchants could thus, and thus only, obtain a satisfactory civil status in a foreign town. Their whole position as to tolls, and as to the courts in which they might plead for the recovery of their debts, was necessarily uncertain, unless they obtained authoritative privileges. On the other hand, good order in a factory was most easily maintained by agreement among the merchants; rules were laid down for their conduct and the disciplined life they should lead, and these were intended to prevent any excuse for municipal interference. By establishing a factory, and living together in it, merchants obtained civil status and were freed from petty injustices and trivial accusations. There were, besides, certain economic advantages in the possession of a factory; of these the chief was that merchants could generally store their goods, and were better able to avoid the loss which might be caused by forced sales in a limited time. Factories with common government privileges secured for a period of years almost necessarily involved some sort of corporation to which these rights might be granted.

The companies, which had been formed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, were empowered by the Crown to

¹ See the charter of the Turkey Company, 1605 (Macpherson, *Annals*, ii. 242), and the confirmation of the privileges of the Company in 1643 (*Ibid.*, ii. 424-5).

regulate trade between England and some definite area of foreign territory; the most important of them was the Company of Merchant Adventurers, which consigned English cloth to the Low Countries, where it was dressed, dyed, and finished for the requirements of the wearers.¹ But early in the seventeenth century the East India Company was transformed into an organization of a different type; as the members traded with a single capital or joint stock, instead of trading separately on their private capitals.² It was deemed absolutely essential to the good of this trade that Englishmen should not compete against Englishmen either as buyers or sellers in foreign markets, but that all transactions should be conducted as the business of the company as a whole. This joint-stock trade, when protected by an exclusive charter, was in the strict sense of the word a monopoly; no merchant could join in the business and secure a share of its gains except by buying the interest of some other member; the privileged joint-stock companies were, therefore, more obnoxious to attack than any others. But even the regulated companies might lay down ordinances which practically threw the whole trade into the hands of a small ring,³ and enabled them to gain at the expense of the

¹ This Company was established by charter in 1505, but it had been in existence long before.

² The first joint-stock voyage was in 1612. Bruce, *Annals of the East India Company*, i. 556.

³ Thus the membership of the Levant Company was restricted in 1661. No person residing within twenty miles of London, except noblemen and men of quality, could become free of the

public; the Merchant Adventurers had at one time, as it appears, charged high fines for admission, and thus limited their membership,¹ while they might lay down rules for the times of shipping, which imposed practical restrictions that differed very little from the joint-stock trading of the East India Company.

The supposed economic advantage of these regulated companies was that they introduced a "well-ordered trade"; by this was meant a trade that was steadily developed, and above all, that never allowed foreign markets to be glutted with English goods so as to bring about a serious drop in prices. The policy of trying to maintain a high price for our wool or woollen cloth had been pursued all through the Middle Ages, and the Merchant Adventurers practically accepted it. They also argued that the regulations of their company prevented the trade from being engrossed in the hands of a few rich men, but gave the young merchant his fair chance, as well as the wealthy man. They could point to the disasters which had occurred at Narva, where there had been a period of free competition in the export trade to Russia, as justifying their view; and the fact that their privileges were renewed, after they had been allowed to lapse by James I., and again under the Commonwealth,² despite the constant criticism to which

Company unless he were a freeman of the City of London. Macpherson, *Annals*, ii. 494.

¹ 12 Henry VII. c. 6. The fee for entrance into the fellowship was reduced from £40 (the original fine had been one noble sterling) to 10 marks.

² In 1615 the charter was restored, and two years later a new

they were subjected, goes to show that they could still make a good case for their continued existence.

At the same time the economic disadvantages of the system are obvious; to maintain high prices is advantageous to the trader certainly, but it is incompatible with vigorous efforts to push a trade and increase the annual exportation. This was the commercial policy which manufacturers desired, and this enterprising policy would also be beneficial to the English consumers of foreign goods. But, besides this, a well-ordered trade, just because it was conducted under regulations, could not be easily adapted to any changed conditions; the interests of the Merchant Adventurers were inconsistent with such an improvement in the dyeing and dressing of cloth in England as would interfere with their export of "whites."¹ Companies might serve to maintain regular intercourse in a comfortable fashion for the persons concerned, but they were not well adapted for pushing trade. Enterprise is the soul of business, and enterprise was more commonly found among outsiders and interlopers.

one was granted. Macpherson, *Annals*, ii. 251. In 1684 and in 1647 the charter was again confirmed. *Ibid.*, ii. 387, 492.

¹ James I. had attempted to restrict the Merchant Adventurers in order to foster the process of dyeing and dressing cloth in England. Referring to this action, which had been reversed, Malynes says (*Maintenance of Free Trade*, 1622), "I cannot omit to observe the practices which were used by combination with other nations and domestic intelligences at home whereby many good actions are overthrowne, to the generall hurt, and with little advancement to the particular," p. 45. Misselden referred to this observation as "a tacit and secret aspersion on the Merchant Adventurers." *Circle of Commerce*, p. 49.

This brief account of the general condition of trade at the time renders it possible to show the precise influence which was exercised by the presence of alien merchants in England. They are commonly spoken of as a numerous body, and it seems likely enough that they were so;¹ English commerce was developing rapidly, and the natives of the countries with which it was carried on desired to have a share in it. In the time of Elizabeth the Merchant Adventurers had succeeded in ousting their old rivals, the Hanseatic League, and had established a factory at Hamburg; and foreign merchants in London swelled the ranks of the interlopers and made common cause with them against the company. In the great struggle, which occupied the first decade of the seventeenth century, English manufacturers, together with English interlopers and foreign merchants² were combined in an attack on the company of Merchant Adventurers, and were temporarily successful.

But it was not a strength to the English complainants that they made common cause with aliens in this matter. The companies could point to the only trades which were not under regulation, and argue that when the aliens got the chance they could succeed, by cutting prices and the general meanness which characterized them, in ousting Englishmen from commerce altogether.³ The

¹ In the lists of 1616 there were no fewer than 188 alien merchants (*Camden Society*, vol. lxxxii. p. vi.).

² Ehrenberg, *Hamburg und England* (1896), p. 209.

³ Between the years 1571-1588 a controversy had been carried on touching the dealings of foreigners. It was alleged that the

French trade had never been the subject of monopoly, since it had ceased to be concentrated as far as possible at Calais; while the trade between England and Holland was chiefly in the hands of Dutch merchants. It could be argued with plausibility that if English commerce and English shipping were to be maintained, it must be by safeguarding the English merchant against the hostile competition of the aliens. This policy was embodied in the famous Navigation Act of 1651, which drove the Dutch, whether resident in England or not, out of the English carrying and colonial trade; and in the earlier part of the century the regulated companies were the principal organs by which similar results had been attained.

When the Navigation Act afforded effective protection to the English merchant, the political excuse for "well-ordered" trade came to an end; but the commercial pre-

Netherlanders and the French absorbed the entire trade with Spain, Portugal, and the Low Countries, while Philip Corsini had the monopoly of the Pope's alum. Complaints were made that the aliens failed to comply with the statutes of employment, and that, instead of exporting English goods to the value of half their imports, they transmitted their receipts in bullion or by bill of exchange; that when a sudden demand arose for any foreign article, strangers forestalled Englishmen and enhanced prices; and that, in similar fashion, they supplanted Englishmen in supplying calls abroad; further, that they defrauded the customs. Enforcement of the statute of employment was advocated as a remedy. It was held that an increase in the customs would result from an enforced export of English goods by aliens; that a better market would be opened for home products; the export of bullion would decrease; and that strangers being obliged to pay high customs, Englishmen would be able to undersell them, and thus successfully oust alien rivals. Stow, *Annals* (1754-5), vol. ii. bk. v. pp. 399-401.

judice in favour of it, backed as it was by the interest of wealthy merchants, died hard. The reasons, which were alleged by citizens of London against the Bill for the General Naturalization of Aliens, are an interesting illustration of the feeling. All the old objections reappear. Men professed to fear that aliens, if naturalized, would enrich themselves and then take their wealth out of the country, as aliens had done in the fifteenth century; they were jealous lest other ports should get the trade which had been hitherto concentrated in London; they were afraid lest the alien competition should interfere with a profitable commission business, and they even protested that the manufactures introduced by aliens had seriously damaged the honest English wares. But the last of these objections had been long since given up in the localities chiefly concerned, and the others were no longer applicable in the changed commercial conditions of the times.

The regulated company which was longest maintained was the Turkey Company; it is in connection with their trade and factories, therefore, that we find the feeling against aliens had the strongest hold; they were anxious to maintain the reputation, not only of English goods, but of the English nation, among the Turks, and they strenuously resisted the admission of Jews to the trade,¹ or of any one who would not abide by the rules of the factories. The contest broke out both in 1744 and 1753;² and it was only because of the demonstrated failure of the company to conduct Levant trade in an enterprising

¹ Macpherson, *Annals*, iii. 241.

² *Id.*, *ibid.*, iii. 240, 298.

fashion that they were at last forced to give way and relinquish their charter.¹

It is curious to notice that those companies, which were most subject to complaint as monopolies, were least hostile to the aliens. The joint-stock companies could take alien capital and use it for the common good of an English company, but the regulated companies were eager to exclude aliens personally, since their business methods and habits of life did not entirely accord with those established in the factories. The East India Company had from the first been empowered to grant licences to trade,² and though their opposition to private trading prevented them from availing themselves of the privileges, there was no obstacle to prevent aliens from becoming shareholders in the company after 1610.³

The decline of the companies was not only the removal of an obstacle to the trade of alien merchants, it was a triumph for those who pointed to foreign practice as worthy of imitation. Company trading was a peculiarly English institution; it had no precise parallel either in Portugal, France, or Holland. In France and Holland, indeed, there were so-called companies, but they were rather departments of state than independent associations. The French Levant Company was a Crown monopoly rather than a trading association, and the government of the Dutch

¹ *Proceedings of the Turkey Company relative to the surrender of their Charter* (London, 1825). British Museum, G. 16259.

² Bruce, *Annals*, i. 135-8.

³ *S. P. Dom.* James I., vol. lviii. 89.

Company¹ was directly controlled by the several States. Though it was advantageous to dispense with the privileges assigned to these companies, it must yet be remembered that the habit of associated enterprise, which was developed by them, has stood Englishmen in good stead in other undertakings.

42. One of the most remarkable developments of London life in the seventeenth century was the rapid increase in banking business. The quantities of bullion, which had been brought from the new world, had entirely revolutionized monetary conditions; and the formation of capital and lending of capital went on in a fashion that had been previously unknown. Banking was not yet a separate business, but it was a profitable branch of the trade that was carried on by the goldsmiths. But the English goldsmiths were unable to retain it in their own hands;² in 1622 the Goldsmiths Company complained that there were no fewer than 184 aliens engaged in their business.

The wardens of the Company set forth their grievances as follows to Sir Robert Heath:—

“According to your worship's direction, we do hereby deliver the number and names of the aliens and strangers (besides manie others not yet discovered) using and abusing the Goldsmiths' profession with sundrie grievances that this Companie

¹ Bruce, *Annals*, i. 201.

² It was alleged before the Commission on Trade in 1669, by Mr. Titus, that a great part of the money employed in rebuilding London was Dutch. (Mr. Child estimated it at no more than £10,000.) *Hist. MSS. Commission, Report* viii. Appendix, p. 184.

of Goldsmithes have long suffered and endured by aliens and strangers within and neare this citie. . . .

"By reason of their great and increasing nomber in buying, selling, and making, of gold and silver wares, jewells, pretious stones, and other imployments within this cittie and suburbs, solely and properlie belonging to the goldsmithes profession free of this cittie, the saide aliens and strangers do take awaye a great parte of the lyberty and maintenance of the free goldsmiths of this citie who are thereby exceedinglie impoverished and disabled in their estates to beare publique charges.

"That the saide aliens and strangers in their habitations are dispersed in manye lanes and remote places of this cittie and suburbs, working in chambers, garrets and other secret places where the wardens of this companie maye not have convenient access and recourse to search, by which meanes besides the unlymited number of servants and apprentices aliens kept by the said aliens and strangers (in which perticuler they usurp and enjoy more privilege than the fremen of this citie) they make and sell manye deceitfull jewells, pearles, counterfeit stones and other goldsmithes wares of gold and silver, to the great deceit of the nobilitie and people of this kingdome, it being partlie the meanes that the use and exercise of other meane trades are crept into the goldsmithes row in Cheape and Lombard Street, to the great disgrace of this citie."¹

The competition was said to be so severe that the Englishmen were much impoverished. So far as the exercise of the manual craft was concerned, the Company might possibly have been able to establish their position; but it was not feasible to quote ancient ordinances which gave their wardens any right of search into the mode of

¹ *S. P. Dom.* James I. (1622), cxxvii. 12. There are traces of alien capitalists in Elizabeth's reign. Compare Erasmus Vandeperre's scheme concerning a bank for money. *Lansdowne MSS.*, xxx. 87, and the loans obtained from naturalized Dutch residents, 274. *S. P. Dom.* Eliz., cclxxiv. 28; cclxxv. 143; cclxxviii. 8-15, 27, 124.

conducting banking business; and this was the more profitable and important affair, for their position as moneyed men brought them into direct contact with the politics of the times. It has been noticed above, that the native merchants in the time of Richard II. were able to bring pressure to bear in favour of a policy which suited their class. It is not too much to say that the London merchants, who had money to lend, controlled the great constitutional changes of the seventeenth century. The refusal by city men to lend to Charles I., except on the joint credit of the Crown and Parliament, gave rise to the important arrangement by which the King consented that the Long Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent, and thus relinquished an important constitutional power. The fact that the Parliamentary Army had so much sympathy from the City of London was a not unimportant element in its success; and at a later time, the moneyed interest in London supported William III. by founding the Bank of England, and enabled him to carry out his policy to a successful issue. It is interesting to notice the influence exercised by a body of men among whom there were so many aliens; and there can be but little doubt that, in so far as they were Dutch or French, their sympathies would be Puritan and Whig, rather than Royalist and Tory.

This may seem to be a matter of speculation rather than of fact, but there is at least a high probability that the moneyed men of alien extraction not only influenced the general policy of the country, but aided in carrying out some interesting administrative changes. The part which

men of foreign extraction, like Violet and Fortrey,¹ took in the paper controversies of the times, serves to show that the alien element attempted to influence English public opinion. It is at least probable that the wealthy men of alien origin had a part in the remarkable fiscal changes which characterized the seventeenth century. The traditional system of taxation had been proved inadequate under Charles I.; the Parliamentary army and the government of the Commonwealth were financed on new principles, and on methods borrowed from the practice of the Dutch. The introduction of an excise was the principal expedient, and this was adopted and perpetuated by the Restoration Parliament. It was in national finance that the policy of imitating the Dutch was most observable, and it is at least tempting to connect this important fact with the existence of a class of wealthy men of alien extraction, who were in close business connection with persons in authority.

43. The position which these moneyed men of alien origin held in the City of London enabled them to take an active part in some of the great industrial undertakings of the time. The most obvious instance is the work of Cornelius Vermuyden. There were large tracts of land in England lying submerged. The most important was the level of the Great Fennes, lying within Lincoln, Northampton, Huntingdon, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and the Isle of Ely, and described by Vermuyden as "a

¹ Fortrey and Violet were descendants of alien merchants who had settled in London before 1635. *Camden Soc.*, vol. lxxxii. pp. xiii. xv.

continent of 400,000 acres."¹ Another was the district of Hatfield Chase, in Yorkshire, subject to inundation from the rivers Don, Ouse, and Trent, bounded by Lincolnshire uplands to the east, and those of Yorkshire on the west, and comprising about 70,000 acres.

An attempt made to reclaim some portion of the fens early in the reign of James I. had failed, and Vermuyden's aid was sought.² In 1621 he had been employed to repair breaches in the banks of the Thames.³ Five years later he entered into an agreement with Charles I. for his first big venture, the drainage of Hatfield Chase,⁴ and in 1628 a grant was made to him and his heirs of a third of such land as he should succeed in reclaiming.⁵ This enterprise was financed by Dutch capitalists in London, Amsterdam and Dordrecht, and was executed by the aid of workmen brought from Holland.

The work was carried on in spite of the determined opposition of the fenmen. This was partly due to the inveterate dislike of foreign labourers; and also to the resentment felt towards the undertakers, as the assignees

¹ Vermuyden, *Discourse touching the Drayning of the Great Fennes*, p. 2.

² Smiles, *Lives of the Engineers* (1874), i. 15, 16.

³ *Id.*, *ibid.*, i. 19. This was by no means the first occasion upon which foreign engineering skill had been used; see above, p. 181, also Smiles, *Engineers*, ii. 16, 17. A Hollander had been employed to work at the sluice at Romney, 1410. *Hist. MSS. Com., Report v. Appendix*, p. 538, and a sluice and dam were made by Flemish masons at Boston in 1500. (P. Thompson, *Boston*, 357.) Cornelius Vanderdelft, a Brabanter, was employed on Stepney marshes. 27 Henry VIII., c. 35.

⁴ Dugdale, *History of Embanking and Draining*, p. 144. W. C. Moens, *Hug. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 277. ⁵ Dugdale, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

of land over which the fenmen claimed common rights.¹ The inhabitants of the manor of Epworth offered great resistance.² Riots and onslaughts upon the drainers were frequent from the outset.³ Much of the work effected was destroyed at intervals by the natives, who ensured the possession of their rights by the simple and effectual method of cutting the enbankments. On several occasions the offenders were sued for the damages done. Vermuyden became disheartened by the continued frustration of his efforts, by the disagreements which arose between himself and Vernatti, one of the undertakers, and by the discontent evinced by the members of the company. In 1633 he sold his interest in the reclaimed land to a Frenchman, Gibbon, by whom Frenchmen were introduced from Normandy and Picardy to co-operate with the Dutch workmen.⁴ The furtherance of this project of drainage in the Isle of Axholme met with continued obstruction from the fenmen. Outbreaks took place frequently, and culminated in the fierce attack of 1650-1,⁵ when about eighty-two houses were ruined and the church of Sandtoft was partially destroyed. Appeals were made by the

¹ G. H. Overend, *Hug. Soc. Proc.*, ii. p. 282. "First thirty years of the foreign settlement in Axholme."

² Dugdale, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-5.

³ *S. P. Dom. Chas. I.*, cxiii. 88.

⁴ Schickler, *Les Églises de Refuge en Angleterre*, ii. 49.

⁵ Dugdale, *History of Embanking and Draining*, pp. 146-8. In 1643, owing to interference with the sluices, the greater part of Hatfield Chase was again flooded; another riot took place at Millerton; and in 1645 the undertakers complained that 74,000 acres of land had been inundated. Cf. *Hug. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 811 *seq.*

engineers. The sheriff was ordered to suppress the riots, but his attempts failed.¹ After successive petitions, Major-General Whalley was sent in 1656 to protect the interests of the undertakers and to promote order; but quiet was not restored for several years.

The prevailing disorder had resulted in the exodus of many of the aliens. They moved south to Whittlesea, and eventually settled at Thorney Abbey, in Cambridgeshire, where a church was founded about 1652.² Here again they had employment under Vermuyden, who was engaged upon the reclamation of the Great Fens. The first scheme had been floated under the patronage of the Earl of Bedford, who secured other participants for the enterprise.³ This attempt was not very successful, for the necessary funds were not forthcoming. It was followed by another, under the auspices of the King, who is said to have promised to furnish the capital.⁴ The same opposition was encountered here as in Yorkshire, and the labour expended was thrown away by the destruction of drains and sluices. A final effort was made in 1649, upon the plans laid down by Vermuyden.⁵ The undertaking progressed, and the drainage seems to have been completed about 1652.⁶ Besides the work done in the fens and at Hatfield Chase, the reclamation of Canvey

¹ Dugdale, *op. cit.*, 146-8.

² G. H. Overend, in *Hug. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 329, 330.

³ Vermuyden, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

⁴ *Id.*, *ibid.*, and Smiles, *Lives of the Engineers*, i. 37-40.

⁵ The accompanying map shows Vermuyden's scheme for diverting the Mildenhall, Stoke, and Bradford Rivers, and banking up the Wen and the Ouse.

⁶ Smiles, *Engineers*, i. 43.

Isle, in Essex, was undertaken by Dutchmen under Croppenburgh, and a church was founded there before 1641.¹

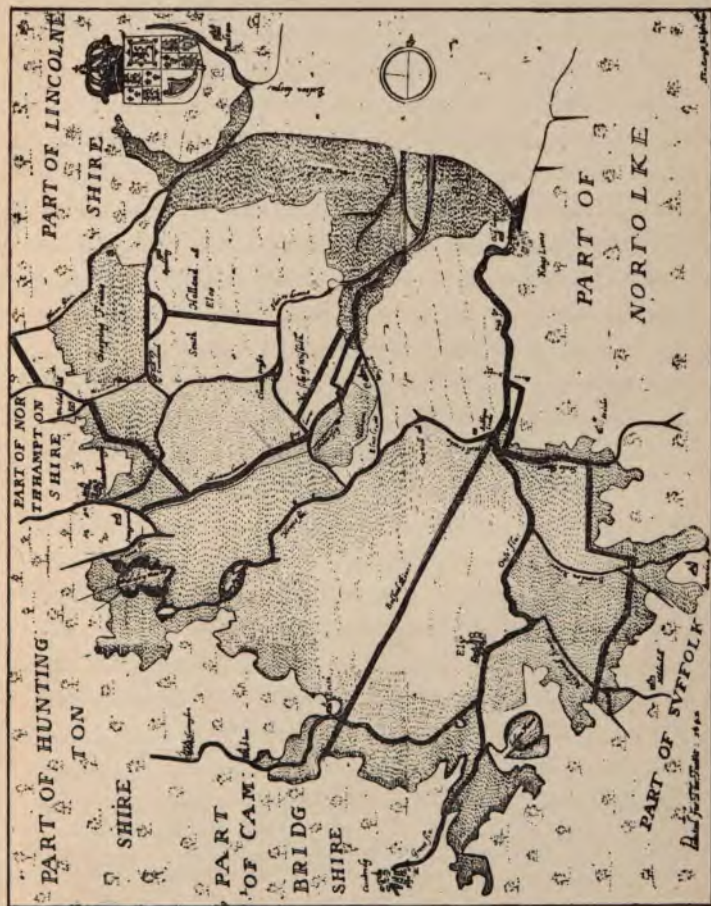
41. It is not easy to assess the exact part which any individuals may have had in the development of arts that have long been established among us: but cases where patents were granted to foreigners may at least be taken as evidence that there was a *prima facie* case for believing that some improvement was possible, and that an attempt was made to carry it into effect. We cannot assume that a trade had not existed previously because a patent in connection with it was granted at some special time, nor need it be forgotten that many of the experiments ended in failure.

Again and again during the sixteenth century attempts were made to improve the art of dyeing as practised in England. The scheme by Alderman Cockayne in 1588 was a disastrous failure, but in 1646 a dyehouse was started at Rye by a Dutchman named Regier, whose scarlet dye soon attained a high reputation. In 1667 the art was still further improved by Bant's a man of Flemish origin, and from that time onwards there was no real necessity for the exportation of dyed cloth.

It seems that in spite of all the immigration of weavers which had taken place for centuries there was still room for improvement in the art as practised in the west of England. Paul Machoux and William Weaver brought

¹ *Rural Hist. of Essex*, vol. 1, pp. 114 and 115.

² *Rural Hist. of Essex*, vol. 1, p. 115.



over and employed some families of Dutch weavers who were settled at Dutch Barton, near Bradford, in Wiltshire.¹ The employers were forced to bind themselves to be responsible in case the families became chargeable to the parish; but this seems to have been an unnecessary precaution, as it was said that the district increased in prosperity in consequence of the new departure.

Progress was also made under Dutch influence in the mechanical and mining arts. The clocks which had been previously made in England were of French design; and Frenchmen had been brought over to work at the clock at Nonsuch Palace under Henry VIII.,² and there were others during the reigns of his children.³ The names of the clockmakers enumerated in the list in 1622 indicate a French origin.⁴ But the term Dutch clock suggests the fact that timepieces of this type were originally made in Holland; they were first constructed in England, soon after the Restoration, by a Dutchman named Fromantil. Men were introduced during this period from Holland and to work in the Keswick mines.⁵ The use of gunpowder in mining operations is said to have been practised first in England by German miners brought in by Prince Rupert to Ecton, in Staffordshire.⁶

¹ W. H. Jones, in *Wilts Arch. and Nat. Hist. Mag.*, v. 48, 49. See also the Dutch weavers in 1675. *Hist. MSS. Com.* (Sir H. Le Fleming MSS.), *Report* xii. *Appendix* vii. p. 101.

² *West. Denization Roll*, 36 Henry VIII.

³ *Hug. Soc. Pub.*, viii., *Introduction*, xliii.

⁴ *S. P. Dom.* James I., cxxvii. 15.

⁵ Bevan, *British Manufacturing Industries*, ii. p. 158.

⁶ Tomlinson, *Encyclopædia* (1866), p. 170: *sub voc.* Mining.

Staffordshire has become famous for its potteries. In 1688 two brothers, the Elers, came from Amsterdam, and began the method of salt-glazing, and made their red ware at Dimsdale and Bradwell, near Burslem, in imitation of the Saxony ware of the period.¹ About twenty years later they went to one of the suburbs of London, for potteries already existed at Chelsea, Vauxhall, Fulham, Battersea, and Lambeth. All the early specimens of those stone-wares of this date are similar to that of Delft.² Probably most of the potters were Dutchmen. One, John Ariens van Hamme, obtained a patent in 1676 for "the art of making tiles, porcelain, and other earthenware after the way practised in Holland."³ At Bristol and Liverpool Delft ware was made at this period, but there is no evidence of foreign artizans.⁴ The frequent intercourse between Holland and the eastern counties makes it probable that the Delft ware of Lowestoft and Gunton owes its origin to the skill of Dutch workmen.⁵

Throughout the seventeenth century attention was directed to shipping, and there was constant rivalry with Holland in regard to the navy and marine generally, and efforts were made to vie with them, while the success of the Dutch fisheries was recognised, and imitation of their methods advised.⁶ In one subsidiary branch of ship-building help was obtained from Holland. Among other

¹ Jewitt, *Ceramic Art* (1883), p. 76. A. H. Church, *English Earthenware* (1884), p. 80.

² Jewitt, *Ceramic Art*, p. 111.

³ *Id.*, *ibid.*, pp. 75 and 92.

⁴ *Id.*, *ibid.*, pp. 208, 310.

⁵ *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 252.

⁶ See *England's Way to Win Wealth*, 1614, and *The Royal Fishing Revived*, 1670, in the *Harleian Miscellany*, iii. 385, 409.

reforms which the Duke of Buckingham instituted when Lord High Admiral ; by encouraging Dutchmen and others to settle in England,¹ he established the manufacture of great cables and other sorts of cordage in the navy. For this he provided hemp and other materials, and erected houses and yards both at Chatham and elsewhere.

Sugar seems to have been a commodity in the manufacture of which new processes were introduced from abroad. In 1622 Martin Bigger, a German, made an application to the Clerk of the Council for a patent and monopoly for the making of double refined sugar,² and in 1634 certain foreigners, known as the "Theries," proposed to make loaves of white sugar for the first time in England.³

Besides these industrial improvements, the period of frequent intercourse with Holland saw a great development of household arts. Brewing was beginning to be undertaken as a trade on a large scale, for Sebastian Brygonne, a German, set up a new kind of furnace for brewing under Elizabeth,⁴ and in the reign of James I. there were Dutch brewers in London.⁵ Gardening, both ornamental and for kitchen purposes, was scarcely known in England before this time, but the formal fashion which

¹ *S. P. Dom.* Chas. I. (1633), ccxli. (86). See also *S. P. Dom.* Chas. I., ccxli. (85.)

² *Ibid.* Jas. I., cxxxv. (49). The art had been introduced twenty-four years previously by Gaspar Terlin, a German.

³ *Ibid.* Chas. I., celxxix. (79).

⁴ *Ibid.* Eliz., xxxvi. (40). For similar inventions in the Elizabethan period, compare Acontio (*S. P. Dom.* Eliz., *Add.* ix. 39); Stowghberghen (*S. P. Foreign*, Eliz. (1562), 449, 910).

⁵ *Ibid.* Jas. I., xxviii. (136); *Ibid.* Jas. I., cxxvi. (14).

was introduced from Holland has not altogether died out ; while the cultivation of not a few vegetables may be dated from the same period.

Nor should the influence of the Brabant husbandry be forgotten ; it is to the early part of the seventeenth century that we must look for the general introduction of root crops ; and though they were often very badly cultivated, there was, at all events, something of an advance. The knowledge of various manures and methods of treating the soil was also introduced ; as well as the advantage which might accrue from the cultivation of artificial grasses. But there seem to have been comparatively few districts where these attempts were carried beyond the stage of mere experiment.

45. Though the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland were all subject to the same kings in the seventeenth century, the peoples formed three distinct nations for economic purposes. Just as there was jealousy of the Gascons on the part of the English under Edward III., so there were mutual jealousies between the English, Scotch, and Irish subjects of the Stuart kings. Strafford's projects for the plantation of Ireland were hampered by the fact that the English and Scotch, who were brought over to settle, were subject to the disabilities imposed on aliens. In a similar fashion, the hostile measures which the English took against the Dutch reacted on the Scotch as well. The Scotch had little shipping, but they had found a considerable market in the American colonies for their cloth ; it was transported there in Dutch ships. The legislation which pro-

hibited this Dutch carrying trade was a serious blow to the weaving industry in Scotland. It was partly with a view of escaping from these disabilities, and founding a factory of their own, that the ill-fated Darien Company was floated; and, so far as the English were concerned, the chief ground of the desire for union was a wish to escape from the possible injury which might have been done by Scotch competition.

There was intercourse between Scotland and Holland, just as there was between England and Holland; the whole thing was on a much smaller scale, but the effects were somewhat similar in kind. At all events, we hear of attempts to plant new industries of the most varied kinds north of the Tweed with the assistance of foreigners. Peter de Brus, a Fleming, brought over workmen to make playing-cards in 1687, but he failed in the enterprise.¹ In 1699 John Adam, John Bryson, and others, induced some workmen who were skilled in the manufacture of hardware² to migrate from England and settle near Glasgow; and four years later foreigners were brought in by Edinburgh merchants to establish the art of making earthenware.³ Somewhat earlier there had been a series of attempts to introduce sugar refining: a German named Zechariah Zebs was brought over for the purpose in 1669,⁴ and in 1667 a master boiler came from Holland to find

¹ Chambers, *Domestic Annals* (1858-61), ii. 481-2.

² Chambers, *op. cit.*, iii. 127.

³ Cochran Patrick, *Medieval Scotland* (1892), p. 60.

⁴ *Glasgow Arch. Soc. Trans.*, iv. 356.

employment in the Wester Sugar Works.¹ These ventures proved successful, and another sugar refinery which was combined with a distillery, was started in 1701, skilled workmen from abroad being engaged to work there.² The chief impulse to Scotch industrial development was given by intercourse with France rather than with Holland, but its interests were closely interconnected with those of the Dutch Republic.

Ireland, too, received some settlers. Several merchants from Holland and Brabant came to the country in the early years of the seventeenth century. Deliberate efforts were made to introduce alien skill, first by Strafford, with a view to establishing the linen manufacture, and later by the Duke of Ormond, who appears to have planted Walloons at Clonmel, Kilkenny, and Carrick-on-Suir, and a colony of Flemings at Chapelizod, in Kilkenny, where sailcloth, linen, and cordage manufactures were begun.³ But the nascent industries of Ireland suffered terribly from the outbreak of hostilities and revival of animosities which occurred at the Revolution.

¹ McUre, *History of Glasgow* (1830), p. 227.

² Chambers, *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 128.

³ Smiles, *Huguenots in England and Ireland* (1889), pp. 292-294

LATER IMMIGRATIONS



VI

LATER IMMIGRATIONS

i. *The Huguenots*

46. Though there had been a great immigration of French-speaking Walloons, and there were several French congregations in England, there had been but little immigration from France itself. A few families had removed, but that was all; one of these little colonies consisted of people who had lived under English protection near Calais, at Hammes and Guisnes, and who retired to London when Calais fell;¹ but this change of residence was due to the fortunes of war, rather than to any religious motive. Notice has already been made of those who came during the earlier struggles of the Huguenots.²

From 1629 till 1660 the Huguenots enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity, and were by no means inclined to emigrate. They had lost the leaders among the nobles who had cherished political ambition in connection with their cause, and the bourgeois and lesser gentry were prepared to accept the toleration accorded them by the

¹ Stow, *Survey* (1754-5), ii. bk. v. p. 403.

² See above, p. 156.

Edict of Nantes, and to turn their energies into professional and trading pursuits. Colbert appreciated them highly, and did his best to encourage them. But there was much that was anomalous in their position. From the beginning of his reign Louis XIV. appears to have regarded it as discreditable that the anomaly of a Protestant republic in the midst of a Catholic kingdom¹ should be allowed to last indefinitely. It is not un instructive to compare their position with that of the Jews in Angevin England; they had personal protection from the king, and the royal badge, the *fleur de lys*, was substituted for the cross as the finial of their temples; difficulties were put in the way of their worship and psalm-singing, and it was only tolerated on conditions that rendered it inoffensive to the Catholic population. There were also separate courts, or specially constituted courts, which administered justice for this section of the population. That Louis XIV. would have been wise to accept this anomaly many of his advisers thought; but the very form of the Edict showed that it was practically a treaty between King Henry and his subjects, with temporary guarantees for the fulfilment of the royal promises.² Louis appears to have resented the whole arrangement as an indignity to the Crown, and to have deliberately endeavoured to subvert it.

¹ R. L. Poole, *The History of the Huguenots of the Dispersion* (1880), p. 3.

² Haag, *La France Protestante* (1846), pièce justificative, vol. ix. p. 254, art. 4.

The various steps, by which toleration was withdrawn and facilities were afforded for undermining the hereditary Calvinism of the families, called forth many warnings, and were the occasion of a certain amount of emigration; but the severities of the dragonnades had apparently answered their purpose, and Louis XIV. appears to have believed that the Huguenots were so far suppressed, that their charter of toleration could be withdrawn without rousing them to serious action. In this he was entirely mistaken; though the coasts and frontiers were carefully watched, thousands of the Huguenots managed to evade detection, and, after terrible dangers¹ and privations, to reach some region where they were more or less warmly welcomed.

The most accessible regions, and those where fugitives by land were most sure of ready assistance, were Switzerland and Holland; but the Elector Palatine welcomed them in his dominions, and the Elector of Brandenburg took pains to encourage them to settle under his protection. His agents in the Netherlands were prepared to assist French Protestant exiles to make their way to Hamburg, and thence to any part of his dominions;² while Frankfort and Cologne were other

¹ Both from the sea (H. M. Baird, *History of the Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (1895), ii. 72), and from the treachery of false friends (*Ibid.*, ii. 73). Tillières, who had built a temple for the Huguenots in Holland, gave information of intending fugitives to the French authorities. Poole, *History of the Huguenots of the Dispersion* (1880), 30.

² Baird, *History of the Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (1895), ii. 84.

centres to which the fugitives were encouraged to come in the first instance. The Thirty Years' War had reduced many parts of Germany to a condition in which it was little better than a desert; there were large areas of land waiting to be assigned to refugees; and the towns which had suffered most, like Magdeburg, were able to enter on a new period of industrial prosperity. Denmark also accorded them a welcome; indeed, the one country of Protestant Europe which was practically closed to them was Sweden; for, though Charles XI. offered inducements to manufacturers to settle there,¹ he refused to give the French any facilities for their own religious worship; and the Calvinists were unwilling to adopt Lutheranism after their sufferings on behalf of their special principles.

The position of affairs in England was very curious. This country was the natural asylum for those who escaped by sea; and the freedom, which had been already accorded to the Walloon and Dutch Churches, would incline many persons to look to it as the refuge they would prefer to gain. On the other hand, the connections of Charles II. and James II. with the Crown of France were so close that it could hardly be congenial to either of them to thwart the policy of Louis XIV. Sir Henry Savile, the English ambassador at Paris, had done his best to urge the home Government to move in the matter, and to endeavour to attract French Protes-

¹ Baird, *History of the Huguenots*, etc., ii. 88, and Puaux, quoted by him.

tants to settle in England;¹ but no action was taken till after the issue of the Edict of June 17th, 1681, which lowered the age, at which the conversions of the children of Protestant parents were accepted, from twelve to seven years.² This was the final act which roused the Huguenots to endeavour to escape; and within two months of its issue, Charles II. replied by a proclamation,³ in which he expressed readiness to grant letters of denisation to any of the distressed Protestants who might take refuge in England. A very considerable number, whose names are recorded, availed themselves of this opportunity; but the proposal to pass an Act of General Naturalization had to be dropped at the time.⁴ Four years later, when the formal revocation took place, James II. was on the throne; and though he could have little personal sympathy⁵ with the Protestant refugees, he was forced to take a formal part in providing for them, by issuing briefs encouraging collections in churches on their behalf. At the moment, James was endeavouring to secure toleration

¹ *Savile Correspondence in Camden Soc.*, vol. lxxi., and Poole, *History of the Huguenots* (1880), 73, 74.

² Baird, *History of the Huguenots*, etc., i. 494.

³ *Camden Soc.*, vol. lxxxii. Cooper, *Lists of Foreigners*, 1618-1688, p. xviii.

⁴ D. C. A. Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis the XIVth* (1886), ii. 43, 44, where the influence of the trade corporations in the towns is noted. Poole, *History of the Huguenots* (1880), 74 n.

⁵ His delay in issuing the briefs and his treatment of Jean Claudé (Baird, ii. 96, 97) sufficiently indicate his real attitude in the matter.

for Romanists in England, and it was essential for him to try to avoid any apparent complicity in the intolerance of the King of France. Even his favour was not an unmitigated boon to the refugees, as it roused the suspicions of his subjects, and made them fancy that the country was being flooded with disguised emissaries of Louis XIV.

The economic loss to France was very great, and it was of various kinds. Many of the refugees succeeded in emigrating with their households and their property, though some of them had been reduced to a temporary abjuration of their faith in order to make good their escape.¹ The amount of capital which was taken from France at this time appears to have been enormous. There was also a large emigration of skilled artisans of different sorts; and in other cases a loss of business connection and access to foreign markets.² The emigration of artisans and mariners was noted early, and eager efforts were made by the French ambassador to secure their return;³ the proof of the reality of the other causes of decay came out fully and clearly in the reports of trade, which were sent from various provinces⁴ about fifteen years after the Revocation.

47. The proportion of Huguenots to Catholics in France was apparently not more than one in ten, but they were

¹ Poole, *History of the Huguenots*, 31.

² *Id.*, *ibid.*, 170. Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, ii. 616-7.

³ Macaulay, *History of England* (1858), ii. 51. Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France* (1886), ii. 17.

⁴ Baird, *History of the Huguenots*, ii. 77.

distributed chiefly in three centres—Languedoc and Guienne, Poitou and Saintonge, and Normandy and Picardy. For those who escaped by sea, England was physically the nearest refuge, and the tradition of English influence, as it survived in Guienne, would not make the island less attractive. It appears that something like seventeen,¹ out of every twenty who took to the sea landed in England. Traces of them can be found all along the south coast, at points where Walloon Churches had been already organized, and in other ports as well. Congregations existed or were formed at Bristol, Bideford, Barnstaple, Plymouth and Stonehouse, Dartmouth, and Exeter,² the region which lay most conveniently for intercourse with Rochelle and the south-west of France. Many landed at Southampton; and others found a temporary resting-place at Winchelsea, Rye, Faversham, Dover, Sandwich, Yarmouth, or Greenwich. Coming as they did from maritime regions, many of them might be glad to stay on the coast and devote themselves to maritime occupations, but not a few moved on to industrial centres at Norwich or Ipswich, Canterbury or London. Some refugees from Poitou settled at Thorpe-le-Soken, in Essex,³

¹ Baird, *History of the Huguenots*, ii. 93.

² Poole, *History of the Huguenots*, 88 f., also 87. There seems to have been a Huguenot church at Bedford, see "Sommes envoyées aux Églises françaises," in "Estat de la Distribution de la somme . . . accordée par la Reine aux pauvres Protestants refugiez en Angleterre l'an 1705." Brit. Mus., 491, K. 5; p. h. 26. Also a settlement of about twenty-one people at Windsor. *Hug. Soc. Proceed.*, v. 310.

³ Poole, *History of the Huguenots*, ii. p. 96.

others went to Bolton.¹ This is the first of the waves of immigration of which it is possible to attempt a numerical estimate; the best authorities seem to think that about 80,000 landed in England and Ireland.² Though some subsequently moved on, for the most part to America,³ it is probable that some 40,000 remained. There can be no doubt that both from the character, wealth, and skill of the refugees, as well as from their numbers, the movement which began in 1685, and increased after the Revolution of 1689, was far more important than the immigration of any other decade.

The general feeling of indignation excited on the subject was most startling; it overpowered the jealousy which was not extinct in the trade corporations, and

¹ *History of Lancashire*. Baines (Harland), i. 548. It is perhaps worth noting, as suggestive, that Birmingham greatly increased in numbers and prosperity at the period of the immigration [R. K. Dent, *Old and New Birmingham* (1879), sec. i. p. 60]. Though allowance must be made for this increase by the fact that Birmingham, as a corporate town [R. K. Dent, *Old and New Birmingham*, pp. 52, 53], (and as such exempt from the operation of the Five Mile and other Acts), offered attractions to Dissenters, yet the growth of the population and of the number of Nonconformists [*Archæological Transactions of Birmingham and Midland Institute* for 1870, p. 24] may in part have been due to an influx of foreigners. Certain new trades, dating from this period, in the town may have been brought from abroad. The toy trade began under Charles II. [Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary* (7th Edit.), i. 259], and the gun foundry in the reign of William III. [R. K. Dent, *Making of Birmingham* (1894), p. 47. Goodman, in *Birmingham and Hardware District*, edit. Timmins, p. 881].

² Poole, *Hist. of the Huguenots*, 169. His estimate is accepted by Baird, ii. 99.

³ Also to Germany. Poole, *Ibid.*, 107.

the religious suspicion which was awakened in other quarters. It can be most easily measured by the response to the briefs for collections in church. Although, many of the refugees were well provided with money on their arrival, there were many who were in destitute circumstances. Those who were not merchants, but were drawn from the landed gentry or the professional classes, were without any means of support, and for their benefit generous collections were made on five separate occasions. The first was in 1681;¹ another appeal, which is commonly said to have resulted in contributions of £40,000 to £50,000, was made in 1686,² under James II.; the third was issued in January, 1688;³ it was followed by another in 1694;⁴ and a final collection seems to have occurred in 1699.⁵ Even this liberal outburst of private charity was inadequate to the claims on it, and it was supplemented by payments from the Privy Purse,⁶ and subsequently by parliamentary grants.⁷ In 1696 a sum of

¹ Wyndham A. Bewes, *Church Briefs* (1896), p. 208.

² Bewes, *Ibid.*, p. 291. Evelyn, *Diary*, April 25, 1686. On the whole subject see Mr. W. A. Shaw's article in the *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, v. 346.

³ Bewes, *Ibid.*, p. 212, and p. 291, quoting Evelyn, *Diary*, April 5, 1688.

⁴ *Id.*, *ibid.*, pp. 214, 295.

⁵ *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 296. Compare Povey, in *Growth of Industry and Commerce*, ii. 179, note 3.

⁶ W. A. Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

⁷ They petitioned Parliament in 1689 (*Commons Journal*, x. 88, 15 April), and the Crown in 1692, and it was through pressure put on Parliament by the Crown that their case was taken up (*Parl. Report*, 1840, xxiii. p. 55, printed pagination, 215).

Mention is also made of a letter on their behalf to Crown from King of Prussia at the end of Anne's reign.

£12,000 was voted as an annual grant for the distressed French Protestants, besides £3,000 for their ministers;¹ but the administration had difficulty in fulfilling the good intentions of Parliament in any year. The payments were dropped in the year of William's death,² and subsequently by Harley,³ but were afterwards resumed, though under Walpole the grant was paid on a diminished scale of £8,591.⁴ The method of distribution has been described by Misson.⁵ "The sums of money that have been collected for the poor French refugees in England, partly by brief, partly by Act of Parliament, and partly by the mere goodness and liberality of the King and of the late Queen of happy and glorious memory, have always been deposited in the hands of four or five noblemen, who have referred the division and administration thereof to a chosen set of men, picked out from among the refugees themselves; these being more likely to know the necessities and cases of their countrymen than Englishmen possibly could be. These gentlemen are called the French Committee, or, in respect of the Great Commissioners, the Little Committee. That they may not be liable to suspicion, the choice is made out of persons not only of known merit and probity, but of

¹ See *Parl. Hist.*, v. p. 995; and *Journal of House of Commons*, xi. 519, 527, 535, 588. Boyer, *Hist. Will. III.* (1703), vol. iii. 16.

² Shaw, *op. cit.*, quoting *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxiii. 11.

³ Shaw, *op. cit.*, quoting *Treasury Papers*, vol. cexi. 7.

⁴ Shaw, *op. cit.*, quoting *Warrant Book*, Geo. I. (14 June, 1726). Had it not been for the émigrés of the Revolution it would probably have died out much earlier. Cf. Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France* (1886), ii. 42.

⁵ *Memoirs and Observations* (1719), p. 41.

good substance. Nothing can be more laudable than the charity, equity, moderation, compassion, fidelity, and diligence with which these gentlemen acquit themselves of the painful and difficult task which their goodness induced them to accept. . . . It is impossible to express the sentiments of acknowledgment, esteem, and love which all the poor, and all the refugees in general, have in their hearts for these good and pious administrators."

As an act of national charity this payment has a very different character from the ordinary provision for the poor; that was intended for the relief of the poor labourer, this was rather meant for the benefit of those who had been never trained to manual labour at all. It was evidently supposed that, if they were organized in colonies, the more successful persons would soon be able to relieve the needs of other members of their communities, as the Walloons were responsible for their own poor. Part of the money which was collected by means of the briefs was devoted to building churches; three were provided in London, and twelve in the provinces, though the numbers of those who arrived in London, and in other towns respectively, hardly justified this division of the bounty.¹

¹ Stow, *Survey* (1854-5), ii. bk. 5, p. 407. "The state of the poor French Protestant refugees, anno 1687, was this: Their numbers that were relieved by a Brief that year were 15,500 persons: whereof 13,500 were in and about London, and 3,000 in several seaport towns. Of these there were 140 families of persons of quality; 183 ministers with their families; 144 families of lawyers, physicians, merchants, and citizens; the rest artificers, husbandmen, etc. And considerable numbers of them were still at that time coming over. The collection that was

From whatever cause, it is clear that they concentrated more and more in London, till Spitalfields became a thickly populated district, in which the French language was generally used. The weavers there led a life that offers a striking contrast to the lot of the East End population of the present day. Their plots in Sanderson's Gardens were well cultivated, and gay with tulips and dahlias; others of them were great pigeon fanciers, while some devoted themselves keenly to scientific pursuits — botanical, mathematical, astronomical, and historical. In the earlier years of the eighteenth century, under the ægis of protective legislation, they enjoyed extraordinary material prosperity, and the problem of poverty did not press upon them at all. The charities, of which their churches were the centres, and the hospital which was founded for the sick, would seem to have met their requirements, and the contribution from the Civil List assisted them in maintaining their pastors and the impoverished gentry among them.

48. The collections and parliamentary grants provided all that was necessary for the immediate wants and the religious organization of these refugees. With regard to their chief industries there was no need for any special organization.

made for them in London and other parts of the nation in the abovesaid year, 1687, amounted to £40,000, paid into The Chamber of London; and not long after £20,000 more was paid in. Fifteen French churches or convenient places for the worship of God were erected by means of this collection—viz., three in London and twelve in the several counties: besides those great numbers before mentioned relieved thereby."

The times had changed since the days of the Walloon immigration, and regulation by means of companies was no longer looked on with much approval. The chief new development was the silk manufacture. A very large number of the workers in this industry had deserted the Huguenot district about Tours; Lyons, the other centre of this industry, was in Catholic territory, and did not suffer to the same extent.¹ In connection with this trade a company was formed, but it was not a company of the old type; a grant was made in 1692 in favour of certain Huguenots for the exclusive manufacture of lustrings and *a la mode* silks,² and this, the Royal Lustring Company, was fostered under William III. and Queen Anne,³ by protective Acts against the importation of these fabrics. The London company of silk-weavers had ceased to be of practical account some seventeen years before the Revocation. It had been found that they had used their power injudiciously, and an Act of Parliament set aside some of their rules, including a limitation on apprentices.⁴ The manufacture in London was, therefore, without restriction, because without regulation; while at Canterbury the company erected by Charles II. may have been less complacent.⁵ To whatever cause the change may have been

¹ Charmetant, *Les anciennes Corporations de la soierie à Lyons*, in *La Réforme Sociale et la Centenaire de la Révolution* (1890), p. 448.

² Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, ii. 651.

³ 7 & 8 William III., c. 86. 3 & 4 Anne, c. 12. 6 Anne, c. 8.

⁴ 19 & 20, c. ii. c. xi.

⁵ Hasted, *Kent*, iv. 421.

due, it is clear that during the last decade of the seventeenth and first of the eighteenth centuries, the silk manufacture migrated rapidly from Canterbury to London, and flourished at the latter centre.

In the course of a few years, however, we find it growing up in other districts, and it is not in all cases easy to trace the reasons for these developments. The change was apparently due in some cases to the invention of machinery which could be worked to advantage by water-power. After one attempt had failed, Thomas Lombe, of Derby, went to Italy in 1715 and secured men to come and set up a mill for throwing silk; one of the men whom he introduced attempted the same thing at Stockport.¹ In some cases facility for obtaining the materials may have determined the movement of the weaving; but it also seems to have been taken up in a district where woollen weaving had been practised, but was ceasing to flourish. This was certainly the case with the silk manufactures of Halstead, Coggeshall, Braintree and other districts in Essex;² it appears also to be true of Taunton and the West of England.³ The Norwich silk manufac-

¹ Noble, *History of Derby* (1829), i. 247, ii. 423. The process of throwing silk is the conversion of the raw material into three forms for the use of the weaver. (i.) Into "singles," or threads of raw silk twisted together. (ii.) Into "tram," which consists of singles twisted together. (iii.) Into "organzine," or the warp threads.

² *Parliamentary Reports*, 1840, xxiii.: 143 (printed pagination, 302-3); 129 (printed pagination, 289); 200 (printed pagination, 360); *Hansard* (N. S.), x. p. 781.

³ Cf. *Hansard, Commons Debates* (N. S.), 1824, x. p. 733, 804. *Parliamentary Reports*, 1840, xxiii. 252 (printed pagination, 412).

ture was of a different type, and consisted of goods made of a mixture of silk and wool; it appears, however, to have been established after the woollen manufacture had suffered at least a temporary check.¹ In Ireland the silk industry was established by a refugee at Lisburn,² and in Scotland it was attempted by settlers at Moultrie's Hill, near Edinburgh.³ In the beginning of the eighteenth century the ribbon trade was started in Coventry.⁴ Its promoter was an Englishman; but the use of numerous French technical terms in the processes of the manufacture⁵ indicate the nationality of the workpeople by whose skill it was established.

Another branch of the silk industry, the making of mohair and silk buttons, centred at Macclesfield, in the latter half of the seventeenth century.⁶ It continued to flourish there until the fashion of wearing metal buttons, adopted during the Georgian era, led to the decline of this special trade, and its supersession by the weaving of silk in the town.

¹ Clarendon, *Rebellion*, VI. clxxxiii.

² *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, i. 293.

³ Poole, *Hist. of the Huguenots*, p. 94; Smiles, *Huguenots in England and Ireland* (1889), 277.

⁴ Coventry trades in *Birmingham and Midland Hardware District*, Timmins (1866), p. 181. Possibly the watch trade, which began at the same period, had the same origin. Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary* (7th edit.), i. 705.

⁵ *Birmingham and Midland Hardware District* (edited by Timmins), p. 181.

⁶ *History of Macclesfield* (1817), Corry, p. 55. The large buttons of the time of Anne and George I. were spoken of as a French foppery. See Fairholt, *History of Costume* (1846), p. 357.

The trade thus introduced by French immigrants was a typical example of the manufactures which had been habitually fostered in France; it was intended, not to work up native materials, but to avoid the necessity of purchasing foreign goods. It was to some extent an exotic, and was encouraged by heavy protective duties. Not only did the State support it by warding off foreign competition, but also by the internal regulations which were laid down in the Spitalfields Acts in 1773. There had been a period of great distress in the trade,¹ and by the Act of 1773 the magistrates were empowered to fix wages for London and an area of sixty miles round about.² When the protection was removed in 1824,³ it was thought necessary to remove the regulation also; the controversy at the time was curious, as the opinion in the non-regulated districts was much less hostile to free competition than in the regulated. It was one of the last trades in which the practice of authoritatively laying down rates of wages survived as a practical thing; but this special arrangement was not called into being till eighty years after the immigration, and cannot be traced to the refugees themselves.

The progress of the silk manufacture may be almost taken as characteristic of the methods of encouraging industry which prevailed in the eighteenth century;

¹ *Annual Register*, 1765, p. 41.

² *Parliamentary Reports*, 1840, xxiii. 199 (printed page, 359).

³ The repeal of the Spitalfields Acts was unsuccessfully attempted in 1823; it was carried out as an incident in the reduction in the duties on foreign silks in 1824. *Hansard*, N. S.

parliamentary assistance was given by means of protective legislation, and temporary patents for improvements were granted to individuals; in so far as companies were formed, they rather existed for the purpose of carrying on the trade on a large scale, with all improvements that could be heard of, than as exclusive corporations which could exercise powers that were intended to be regulative and easily became restrictive.

49. Another textile industry which was introduced at this time differed greatly in character from the silk manufacture; the making of sailcloth was exactly the sort of trade which English—unlike French—policy sought to foster. All trades which were in any way subsidiary to the development of maritime power were greatly coveted; and before the law of 1681, Sir Henry Savile was writing from Paris, urging that the opportunity of attracting Huguenot manufactures from Picardy and Artois should not be lost. After the passing of that measure, he reported that M. Bonhomme, of Paris, was about to transfer his manufactory to England, and before many years had passed a considerable trade had grown up at Ipswich; capital for starting the enterprise in 1681 had been provided by the elders of the Walloon Church in Threadneedle Street.¹ Like other branches of the linen trade, however, it never took kindly to English soil,²

¹ *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, iv. 206.

² Calico-printing, which took root more readily, was also of Huguenot introduction. It was first set up at Richmond in 1690, and the art was afterwards practised at Bromley Hall, in

and more encouragement was given to those who prosecuted it in Ireland and in Scotland. In neither of these countries was the trade satisfactorily established till long subsequently to the Revocation. The Irish Parliament had been making considerable efforts to foster the linen manufacture,¹ especially after the repression of the woollen trade in 1696, and they were cordially willing to welcome foreign Protestants;² but little success attended their efforts until they obtained royal patronage and secured the services of Louis Crommelin. He was a Frenchman from Picardy, who had settled in Holland, and he was enabled to bring over an industrial colony of Frenchmen from Holland and to settle at Lisburn.³ This was the foundation of the success of the North of Ireland linen manufacture; and a few years later he also organized the manufacture of sailcloth at Waterford;⁴ there were other sailcloth factories at Cork

Essex. Burn, *Hist. of French, Walloen, Dutch, and other Protestant Refugees*, p. 259.

¹ This had been done under Charles II., as early as 1665 (17 and 18 Charles II. c. 9). This Act was repealed 1705, and another passed in the same year for the improvement of the hemp and flaxen manufactures. In 1695-6 the English Parliament passed an Act to encourage the linen manufacture of Ireland. 7 and 8 William and Mary, c. 39.

² *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (1892), ii. 302. Acts were passed by the Irish Parliament for the encouragement of the settlement of Protestant strangers in 14 and 15 Charles II. c. 13, and 4 William and Mary, c. 2.

³ *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, i. 211. Documents in Appendix.

⁴ *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, iv. 206.

and Rathkaile,¹ and the trade continued to receive support from Government for many years.²

The story of the trade in Scotland is very similar; linen manufacture existed there and received much Parliamentary encouragement before the Union, and from the fund, which became available at that time for the promotion of Scotch industries. But it was not till 1729 that the real development began; in that year Nicholas d'Assauville, and fifteen compatriots from Picardy, settled in the burgh of Broughton, between Edinburgh and Leith; and they were successful in giving it a considerable impetus. The Huguenots at Moultrie's Hill abandoned the manufacture of silk for that of linen; and foreign linen-weavers, who may have been French refugees, are said to have settled at Drumsheugh.³ From Edinburgh the trade spread west to Glasgow and the district around, through the medium of the French settlers who were sent to instruct the weavers.⁴

¹ *Irish Commons Journals*, 4 October, 1721.

² Other colonies of refugees were founded at Dublin, Dundalk, Cork and Kilkenny. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, i. 211. There appear to have been a few settlers at Belfast. *Ibid.*, ix. 142.

³ A. W. C. Hallen, in *Huguenot Society Proceedings* (1887), ii. 175, 176. The Dunfermline manufacture was an offshoot from this centre.

⁴ Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France* (1886), ii. p. 520. In the eighteenth century several manufactures in Scotland were developed by alien skill. Certain Paisley merchants induced a Frenchman and his wife to come from Lisle to start thread and lace-making in Renfrew, in 1710 (G. Crawford, *History of the Shire of Renfrew*, 1782, p. 17). Dutch linen-weavers were brought over to Glasgow in 1725 (J. Gibson, *History of Glasgow*, 1777, p.

It is hard to say what success had attended the various experiments in paper-making which date from Tudor times: but there can be little doubt that the chief development of the industry in this country was due to the French refugees. The manufacture was carried on in different parts of France, but Angoulême was the most celebrated centre in Europe for the production.¹ Mills were planted about this time in various parts of Britain; at South Stoneham by Gerald de Vaux: at Laverstoke, in Hampshire, by the Portals:² and on the Darent, in Kent.³ Certain members of a company of white paper-makers, who asked for a charter of incorporation in 1686, bore foreign names.⁴ A mill was established at Colinton and another at Cathcart, near Glasgow, by Nicolas de Champs:⁵ and French workmen began the manufacture of blue and grey paper of a superior quality at Dalry Mills, near Edinburgh.⁶ This venture does not appear to have prospered, and in 1698 Nicolas Dupin sought and obtained permission to establish a new process for making fine paper.⁷

248), and in 1732 a workman from Holland began the tape manufacture *Ibid.* p. 241. About forty Frenchwomen were introduced by a Glasgow merchant for the weaving of fine yarn in 1768 (*Glasgow, Past and Present*, 1861, iii. 318). There appears also to have been a French potter in Glasgow in 1779 (*Ibid.*, iii. 305-6).

¹ Levasseur, *Classes ouvrières* (1858), ii. 276, note 4.

² *Hug. Soc. Proc.*, iii. 70.

³ Smiles, *Huguenots in England and Ireland* (1880), 272.

⁴ *Hug. Soc. Proc.*, iii. 349.

⁵ *Picture of Glasgow and Stranger's Guide* (1812), p. 298. Chambers' *Journal*, December 9, 1848.

⁶ Cochran Patrick, *Medieval Scotland*, p. 61. ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

The art of making sheets of plate glass in England is said to owe its introduction to a Frenchman, Abraham Thevenart; and in Scotland his compatriot, Le Blanc, one of the workmen employed at Aitchison's Haven in 1697, instructed his fellow-workmen in glass-polishing.¹ Rope-making was carried on in Leith by a Huguenot;² while another refugee, Paul Martin, introduced the manufacture of lancets and other surgical instruments into Edinburgh, and was admitted as a member of the corporation of Hammermen in that city.³

The Huguenots who attached themselves to the Walloon colony at Wandsworth were chiefly drawn from Caudebec, a town of Normandy which had been a centre for furriers and the manufacture of felt and beaver hats. The transference of the industry was so complete that, as is commonly said, the hats of the Roman cardinals were all manufactured by these refugees, until a trade intrigue was successful in restoring the secret to France about 1730.⁴

50. If intercourse with Holland had paved the way for the landing of William, the Huguenot immigration contributed in no small degree to the success of the Revolu-

¹ Cochran Patrick, *Medieval Scotland*, p. 59.

² Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France* (1886), i. 259.

³ Colston, *Incorporated Trades* (1891), p. 15.

⁴ In the middle of the eighteenth century a French hatter, Matthieu, returned to his native country and set up a large factory for hats in Paris, thus restoring the secret of the manufacture which had been carried out of France by the Huguenot exiles. Weiss, *History of the French Protestant Refugees* (trans. Hardman, 1854), p. 259.

tion and the subsequent settlement of the affairs of the realm.¹ The cause of the Huguenots was intimately connected with that of William III.; not till he issued his declarations did they feel really at home in the land of their adoption; it was only after the battle of the Boyne that they ventured in any numbers to Ireland. He was their protector, and they were heartily attached to his cause. The very flower of his army was drawn from the refugees.

"Heureusement," wrote Michelet, "l'armée de Guillaume était ferme. Elle était précisément forte par cet élément calviniste qu'il repudiait en Angleterre, je veux dire par nos hugenots, les frères des puritains. . . . Je ne crois nullement que la grande Angleterre, avec toutes ses gloires, son ainesse dans la liberté, n'avoue pas noblement, la part que nos Français eurent à sa délivrance.

"Tels quels, présentons-les ici. Les chefs du génie et de l'artillerie sont Cambon et Goulon. Les trois aides-de-camp de Guillaume sont aussi des français. Trois régiments d'infanterie, en tout, deux mille deux cent cinquante hommes, très redoutable troupe, pleine de vieux soldats de Turenne, de gentilshommes et d'officiers, qui dans cette guerre sainte trouvaient bon d'être soldats. Ajoutez un escadron français de cavalerie.

"Bien plus, presque toute l'armée était française par ses cadres. Guillaume y avait dispersé dans tous les

¹ The Huguenot refugees were said to have contributed about £2,000,000 sterling towards the expenses of revolution settlement. See the argument in favour of the General Naturalization Act, 1709. *Parl. Hist.*, vi. 782, 783.



THE MARQUIS OF RUVIGNY, EARL OF GALWAY.

corps, comme un ferment d'honneur et de bravoure, sept cent trente six de nos officiers. Ces gens-là, maintenant n'ayant rien sur la terre nul foyer que la place qu'ombrageait le drapeau d'Orange seraient morts trente fois plutot que de ne le pas tenir ferme. Sous eux les soldats achetés, les mercenaires ne purent que marcher droit."¹

Prominent among the Huguenot officers in William's army were Schomberg, the Marquis of Ruvigny, Earl of Galway, and Ligonier, who was eventually appointed Field Marshal and Commander-in-chief.² Men of Dutch and Walloon extraction helped to finance the Revolution and supported the policy of the new Government, but the brunt of the actual fighting was borne by French refugees.³

The immigration of such a large number of men of deep religious principle could not but have a marked effect on the religious history of the country. It has been already pointed out that the very existence of the Walloon congregations had reconciled a larger proportion of Englishmen to the belief that the State might wisely make an exception in regard to the principle of insisting on conformity to the Established Church, and that there was no political danger in permitting the

¹ Michelet, *Histoire de France* (1877), xv. 374.

² T. M. Maguire, in *Hug. Soc. Proc.*, iv. 322, 324, 326. It is estimated that in 1698 there were 4,288 Huguenots in the English army. *Ibid.*, 324.

³ On the reduction of Ireland not a few of the leading officers with their soldiers settled in Ireland. The principal colony was that at Portarlington, where the Earl of Galway was established (*Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, iii. 64 seq.), but there was also a group of officers who settled at Youghal. *Ibid.*, ii. 228. Some of

existence of foreign Churches within the realm. The arrival of the Huguenots struck another blow at the principle of the State establishment of national religion; for it brought about the concurrent endowment and establishment of different forms of Christian worship and religious discipline. The moneys collected in the established churches were devoted in part to the erecting of places of worship for the Huguenots, and public funds were assigned to the maintenance of their pastors. This policy of concurrent endowment was also carried out in Ireland, where the Presbyterians of Ulster obtained a *regium donum*; and it must have rendered the King and Queen more ready to accept the policy of establishing Presbyterianism in Scotland, at a time when the considerations of expediency were very difficult to balance. The policy of regarding every Protestant communion alike as a *religio licita* was ultimately embodied in the general act of naturalization, when the point was conceded, after some debate, of accepting aliens who were willing to communicate, not in the Church of England, but in any Protestant sect.

The decision thus taken had important political consequences; after it was taken, only one Christian community remained against the members of which it was possible to urge that their existence was a political danger; while at the same time the persecution which the Huguenots had received abroad tended to strengthen

the Danes, who came over six or seven thousand strong and were quartered in Yorkshire, expressed a determination not to return. *Diary of Abraham de la Pryme* (Surtees Soc.), p. 16.

the English prejudice against Papists. The treatment to which Romanists were exposed in England had been alleged in France as an excuse for the increasing rigour to which the Huguenots were subjected by Louis XIV.; and the advent of the refugees brought no disposition to remove the disabilities of Papists in this country. More than a century was to elapse before the Romanists could secure their emancipation; and in the intervening period every effort was made in Ireland, by means of penal laws, to imitate the policy which Louis XIV. had tried with so much apparent success. The boasted religious toleration of Locke and the Whig statesmen did not extend beyond the limits which had been practically forced upon them by the Walloon and Huguenot refugees.

The narrow range within which this principle was accepted, becomes more apparent when we turn to Scotland; in the northern kingdom there had been no refugee Churches formed, and it was still possible to maintain the principle of establishing a national religion in a very strict sense.¹ The non-juring attitude adopted by many of the Episcopalian clergy gave an excuse for treating the prelatists as disloyal to the new order of things, and for bringing severe pressure to bear on those who adhered to liturgical worship and Episcopal ordination. Episcopals in Scotland have lived down this suspicion, but they still suffer from the prejudice which it engendered.

¹ The Scotch Act of 1695, which prohibited baptism by the Episcopal clergy, was repealed by an Act of the United Kingdom in 1711. This served as a charter of toleration to the Episcopals.

There was a parallel change within the English Church, which can be traced to the same cause. Those who were thoroughly loyal to the principles of the English Church disliked the latitude, which was viewed as expedient in the interests of the State, and they were in their turn tabooed by persons in authority. Zeal and enthusiasm of any kind found little encouragement; indeed, it almost ceased to be respectable. At the very time when England was coming into the front rank of nations, not only in Europe, but in the world, the State as a State was becoming content with more or less kindly patronage of the Church, and was ceasing to take an active part either in maintaining or propagating her doctrine and discipline.

These indirect effects on the religious conditions of England, Scotland, and Ireland alike, were out of all proportion to the number of the refugees who professed to maintain separatist congregations; from the first, the great mass of the refugees had conformed to the Church of England,¹ or had been merged among the remnant of Presbyterianism.² More than one of the congregations, though retaining the French language in its services, preferred to adopt the Prayer-Book and orders of the Church of England, and, despite occasional reinforcements from abroad, they have, with two important exceptions, ceased to exist.

While the religious influence of the refugees may, on

¹ Burnet, quoted by Agnew, ii. 74.

² Several of the leading Unitarian families in England are of Huguenot descent—*e.g.* Martineaus, Chamberlains.

the whole, be said to have been indirect, it is not easy to exaggerate the importance of their direct contribution to other sides of English life and thought. It was the peculiar feature of this immigration that so many of those who sought an asylum in this country were educated men ; and they have at least, through their descendants, left their mark on every department of English literature and science.

ii. *The Palatines.*

51. On the passing of the General Act of Naturalisation¹ it seemed that the long-standing jealousy of alien immigrants had come to an end. The Act indeed insisted that those who took advantage of its provisions must be Protestants ; but the prosperity of the colonies of Frenchmen in England seemed to show that many of the fears, which their coming had inspired, were groundless. Not only were they not a burden to the community, but they had done an immense amount to increase our industry at the expense of that of France. It seemed as if we could not welcome too many such people to our shores. There had been an extraordinary revolution in public opinion during the two preceding centuries ; in the time of Richard III. and Henry VII. the prejudice against alien artisans was rampant, and, on the whole, triumphant ; in the time of Queen Anne it hardly made itself heard, and failed to make itself felt.

But the favourable opinion thus formed was at least

¹ 7 Anne, c. 5.

premature; the Walloon and the Huguenot artisans were an undoubted gain to the nation, but others, who were just as much objects of pity, were by no means an acquisition. The passing of the Act for a General Naturalization was the signal for a large incursion of destitute aliens; they began to flock to this country in crowds from the Palatinate. The incident is not unimportant, though it has been almost forgotten; it led to the repeal of the Act which had been recently passed,¹ but it failed to modify the public sentiment. Nations may learn by experience, but only, it would seem, by long-continued experience, and not by single incidents.²

The episode was a curious sequel to the story of Huguenot immigration, and was indeed intimately connected with

¹ 10 Anne, c. 9. Compare Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, i. 50.

² Mr. Nugent, in advocating the Bill for the Naturalizing of Foreign Protestants (1748), urged the benefits which had accrued, and would accrue, from the immigration of skilled artisans, the habits of frugality which they would inculcate in Englishmen, and the necessity of giving naturalization to them, in that while workmen were the very class whom it was most desirable to attract to England, they were also those who could not afford the expense of private naturalization Acts. But the promoter of the Bill before the House realized that the memory of the Palatine incursion would prejudice the measure, and added: "I do not desire that we should run into such an extravagant fit of charity as we ran into in the year 1708, when we not only passed a Bill for the General Naturalization of Foreign Protestants, but put ourselves to a great expense in bringing over a great number of poor Palatines who could not bear the cost of transporting themselves; and who, when they arrived, were found to have neither industry nor ingenuity." The Bill was dropped. *Parl. Hist.*, vol. xiv. pp. 134-146.

affairs in France. The Elector Palatine had sheltered not a few of Louis XIV's emigrant subjects; and Louis had revenged himself by ravaging a territory which lay so readily exposed to his attack. The French colony was completely broken up, and its remnants were received at Erlangen and other German towns; while some of them made their way to England.¹ But the troubles of the unhappy area, which had sheltered them, were not at an end; the Palatinate was devastated again by Louis in 1693,² and the German inhabitants were themselves reduced to a desperate plight.³ The offer of ready naturalization in England seems to have been the last determining cause, and crowds of them started to obtain a settlement in our country.

This incursion of masses of destitute Germans was felt as a serious grievance in S. Olave's, Southwark, and other parishes where they were housed;⁴ it was a somewhat mysterious affair, and even a parliamentary enquiry did not completely unravel the inner history of the matter. This was perhaps partly due to the partisan spirit in which the investigation was conducted. The Tories were anxious to utilize the incident to throw blame on Sunderland,⁵ and professed to be anxious to unmask a scheme for crowding the land with Dissenters and thus attacking the Church.

¹ Poole, *Hist. of the Huguenots*, 130.

² Macaulay, *History of England* (1858), iv. 430.

³ Five years later, Huguenot refugees were forbidden by the Elector Palatine to settle in his territory. Poole, *Huguenots*, 130.

⁴ *Parl. Hist.*, vi. 999.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vi. p. 1000

It appears that a Lutheran minister, with forty-one persons, had been the precursors of the movement; they had arrived in 1708, and had been forwarded at the Queen's expense to New York. In the following year a "Golden Book" had been freely circulated among the Elector Palatine's subjects; it contained a picture of Queen Anne, and had gilt letters on the title-page: it chiefly consisted of a recommendation of Carolina as a field for emigration, and indicated England as the point of departure. The ravages of the French, coupled with the mischief done to their vineyards by a hard winter, rendered large numbers willing to go to the English plantations; they came in crowds down the Rhine to Rotterdam, whence English agents forwarded them to England, so that in June, 1709, it was estimated that 10,000 had arrived. Efforts were made to check the further ingress, but these were frustrated by a Quaker of Rotterdam and a mysterious "gentleman with a servant that came over in the packet boat," and distributed printed tickets among the Palatines at Brill; an additional 3,000 had arrived before October.¹ Meanwhile the efforts of the commissioners, who had been appointed to settle these men in any useful employment, were not very successful; the Palatines were agriculturists, and the towns would have none of them. Certain weavers among them settled at Bolton;² others were employed by the corporation of

¹ See the Report in the *Commons Journal*, xvi. 597, 598.

² *History of Lancashire*, Baines (Harland), i. 548.

Liverpool,¹ others by the Queen.² Many were despatched to New York; projects for sending them to the West Indies and the Scilly Isles, and Ireland, or planting them on royal forests in England, were mooted; but little was done; and some of those who had gone to Ireland³ were compelled to return to Southwark. A camp was formed on Blackheath; and as winter came on, many of them were housed in the Archbishop's granaries at Lambeth, and, under very insanitary conditions, in the warehouses in Southwark. It is a miserable story, and the expense, which was charged to the public purse, amounted to £135,775 18s. 0½d., while about £21,000⁴ was raised for the same purpose by briefs in churches. The settlements, which had a partial success, were those which had been planted in Limerick and Kerry; but even in these cases the success seemed to be almost as much due to the terms on which the land was leased as to any special characteristics among the settlers.⁵ In its economic aspects the whole affair serves to bring out the fact that while the immigration of skilled labourers may be an immense advantage to a country, there is at least a grave difficulty in turning the labour of unskilled men to immediate account.

¹ *Hist. MSS. Commission Report*, viii. p. 47.

² Poole, *Hist. of the Huguenots*, p. 99.

³ Others who remained suffered severely. *State Papers (Treasury)*, vol. clxxxviii. 7.

⁴ *Commons Journal*, xvi. 597-8. It appears that £19,838 11s. 1d. had been expended from this fund.

⁵ Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, ii. 343.

iii. *The Émigrés.*

52. At the end of the eighteenth century England once again became a refuge; this time for the victims of political, not religious, strife.

On the 5th of May, 1789, the States-General met, and from the day of their meeting signs were not wanting of the determined advance of the Tiers État to power; but, though many men foresaw that a revolution was inevitable, none anticipated the rapidity with which events would move, till the country was startled by the riot which culminated in the storming of the Bastille. Face to face with this evidence of revolution, Louis XVI. had to choose between an attempt to quell the revolt by force and acquiescence in the work of the revolutionary leaders. The King's submission, and the concessions which he made, gave an impetus to the Royalist emigration, which began immediately.¹ This exodus continued steadily during the years which followed. The Comte d'Artois, having first sought Turin, settled at Coblenz in 1791, where he began to negotiate with foreign powers for the restoration of the French monarchy; while the Prince of Condé, with the Duke of Bourbon, gathered together regiments of emigrants at Worms, and endeavoured to compass the same end by more patriotic means, in invoking the aid of the counter revolutionists within France, rather than that of designing allies without.²

The first exodus had been that of the Royalists; it was

¹ Martin, *Histoire de France, depuis 1789* (1878), i. 61-63.

² Morse Stephens, *French Revolution* (1891), ii. 38-35.

succeeded by that of several members of the Constitutionalist party in the autumn of 1789. The renunciation of feudal rights and the abolition of privileges on the initiative of the nobility, followed by the limitation of the legislative power of the Crown to a suspensive veto, failed to satisfy the people; and the king roused them by calling troops to Versailles. The events which resulted on the 5th and 6th October and the removal of Louis XVI. from Versailles to the Tuileries, led to an augmentation in the number of fugitives.¹

The autumn of 1789 was marked by the commencement of proceedings which eventually gave rise to another class of refugees. Ecclesiastical endowments were confiscated. This was followed by the civil constitution of the clergy in July, 1790, and the imposition upon them, in November, of the oath of fealty to the nation, the law and the king.² A year later all non-juring priests were declared to have forfeited their revenues, and were to be imprisoned if they raised dissensions in their districts. The clerical émigrés, who left the country in consequence of this procedure, formed a numerous body.

But during the years 1790-1 events in France induced further flight among the nobility and the upholders of the monarchy. The failure of the king to make good his escape in June, 1791, and the acceptance of the Constitution as drawn up by the Constituent Assembly alienated other royalists, who were encouraged by the brothers

¹ Martin, *Histoire de France, depuis 1789*, i. 91-97.

² Dyer, *Modern Europe*, iv. 365, 369.

of Louis XVI., Monsieur and the Comte d'Artois, to join them at Coblenz. On the opening of the Legislative Assembly the émigré question was discussed; and while, as has been said, a decree was issued against clerics, loss of life and property was the lot appointed for all émigrés who should have failed to return to France by January 1st, 1792.¹ In 1792 the trend of affairs rendered emigration still more desirable for many, and they found safety in flight. These were the causes which occasioned emigration.

53. It is unnecessary to enter here into the reception of the émigrés at European Courts, or to detail the help afforded by the different rulers; the attitude of England was unlike that of other countries. Pitt, at the head of affairs, had one persistent aim—the preservation of peace. England was exhausted by the drain of the American war, and he wished to recoup the country's strength. Since he held that the restoration of strong monarchy in France was necessary to the peace of Europe, Pitt was desirous to forward the cause of the royalists; but his method was not that of armed intervention. He looked to the exertions of the émigrés and their allies without, and of the royalists who remained in France.

The Government was unwilling to espouse the cause of those Frenchmen who had come to England, and there was also a certain reluctance on the part of the authorities to receive persons who might prove to be holders of revolutionary tenets cloaking themselves under the guise of

¹ Dyer, *Modern Europe*, iv. 380, 383, 384.

royalist émigrés. Realizing this danger, they guarded against the contingency by passing the Alien Bill of 1793.¹ Aliens were required to assign a good reason for their presence in England, to register themselves, and to produce their passports when called upon; if necessary, they could be expelled from the country. Under this Act, Talleyrand was obliged to depart to America in 1793.²

The English people shared to some extent the suspicions of the Government with regard to the Frenchmen. One journal advocated that Frenchmen should be restrained from meeting together in greater numbers than five at a time; and it pointed out the risk of harbouring certain French dancing-masters, "the veriest Jacobins in existence."³ Despite this lurking dread, however, much public sympathy was aroused for the émigrés; their circumstances were calculated to excite compassion. All of them were poor; many had endured great hardships. The Comtesse de Saisseval crossed the Channel in winter in a small boat and begged vainly for a lodging at Dover;⁴ the Duc de Liancourt had been hunted from Rouen to Abbeville, and thence to a coast village; after three days spent in hiding, he escaped to England;⁵

¹ 33 Geo. iii. c. 4.

² *Talleyrand Memoirs*, edited by the Duc de Broglie (translation, London, 1891), vol. i. 173. Talleyrand says that he was expelled in order to prove that the Alien Act was no dead letter.

³ *The Times*, Feb. 15th, 1793. Quoted by John Ashton, *Old Times* (1885), p. 277.

⁴ Forneron, *Histoire Générale des Émigrés* (1884), ii. p. 44.

⁵ *Diary of Madame d'Arblay* (1842), v. 346, 347.

Chateaubriand nearly starved in London.¹ These are a few examples of a condition which was general.

54. A colony was formed at Staines by the royalist families of Harcourt, Beauvau, FitzJames, and Mortemart,² and other émigrés settled at Petersham and Richmond.³ Juniper Hall, near Dorking, was chiefly the centre for the gathering of Constitutionalists. Among the residents there were the Marquise de la Châtre, M. de Narbonne, M. de Montmorency, Theodore Lambeth, the Marquis de Jaucourt, Lally Tollendal, Madame de Staël, and Talleyrand.⁴ Madame de Broglie settled for a short time at West Humble, and the Duc de Liancourt lived in a small house near Bury.⁵ The county of Norfolk was said to be filled with "little revolutionary societies" in the autumn of 1792.⁶ Sir William and Lady Jerningham welcomed émigrés to their home, both at Cossey, in Norfolk, and in London.⁷ Immigrants in large numbers arrived on the south coast and went on to London; in one week 170 landed at Brighton, and nearly 1,300 at Eastbourne, most of whom were poverty-stricken priests.⁸ Beggars

¹ Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'outre tombe* (1849), iii. pp. 169-181.

² Forneron, *Histoire Générale des Émigrés*, i. p. 215.

³ Dutens, *Mémoires* (1806), ii. 276, 277. *Letters of Horace Walpole* (1891), ix. 350.

⁴ *Diary of Madame d'Arblay*, v. pp. 340, 394, 402.

⁵ *Ibid.*, v. pp. 340, 343, 356.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. p. 372.

⁷ *Jerningham Letters*, edited by Egerton Castle (1896), i. pp. 88, 91, 95. Among those mentioned in these letters as refuted in England are Mme. de Chatillon, the Archbishop of Narbonne, Mme. de Rothes. The Comte d'Artois was living at Holyrood in 1797. Madame de Gontaut, *Mémoires* (1891), 69.

⁸ *St. James' Chronicle*, Sept. 12th, 1792.

of all sorts are said to have availed themselves of the pity prevalent in England and to have come in numbers. It was estimated that in 1792 there were more than 40,000 men, women, and children of French birth in England;¹ two-thirds of these were of low rank.

The immigrants were not wanting in the quality of self help. The Marquis de Montazet earned his living by cleaning windows; and Chevalier Anselme became a waiter;² M. Gautier de Brécý catalogued books, and the Marquis de Chavannes sold coals; others taught various arts.³ Many joined the lace-makers of Buckingham, Bedford, and the neighbouring counties.⁴ But public interest showed itself in tangible form; some 700 priests were welcomed and supported at Winchester, where they remained for four years, and then moved on to Reading and other towns.⁵ A great many refugee clerics were employed to make tapestry by the Marchioness of Buckingham,⁶ and several ladies of rank sold artificial flowers and embroideries under her patronage.⁷ Public meetings were held in London to raise money for the émigrés,⁸ and a committee was formed to seek out neces-

¹ *St. James' Chronicle*, Sept. 13th, 1792. Quoted by J. Ashton, *Old Times* (1885), 15.

² *Voyages des Émigrés Français*, par. L. M. H. (1799), i. 69, 70.

³ Forneron, *Histoire Générale des Émigrés*, ii. 48, 49.

⁴ *Annual Register*, 1794. *Chronicle*, p. 21.

⁵ Milner, *History of Winchester*, ii. 167-9. About 8,000 priests came to England; sixty were located at Berwick. Lubersac, *Journal historique et religieux de l'émigration* (1802), 13, 41.

⁶ Forneron, *op. cit.*, ii. 55.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ii. 49.

⁸ *St. James' Chronicle*, Sept. 13th, 1792.

sitous cases, while Lady Sheffield cared for the sick among them.¹ At this juncture, as on other occasions, the English reputation for hospitality was maintained.

Two observations may be made as to the outcome of this invasion. It has had little apparent result on the material welfare of the kingdom, and at the time it must have been a tax on the country; but it did not produce a distaste for the alien immigrant. This point comes out clearly in the discussion on the Alien Bill in 1824.² In the intervening period England had been a refuge for political fugitives. While advocating the retention of certain restrictions on aliens resident in this country, as safeguards against political plots, the supporters of the measure expressed satisfaction that this country was still an asylum. This, though a sincere expression of sympathy, was slight as compared with the cordiality for strangers which found expression in the terms in which the opponents of the measure denounced some of the provisions of the Bill. Any conditions attaching to immigration were, in their opinion, a sign of pandering to tyrants abroad. When such a measure was stigmatised as an odious Act, which would disgrace the country, and one which would lend apparent sanction to oppressions, it is clear that the English sympathy for fugitive strangers had come to be deeply rooted and widely spread.

¹ Forneron, *op. cit.*, ii. 53.

² *Hansard* (N.S.), x. 1332, *seq.*

CONCLUSION



VII

CONCLUSION

55. It is not easy to summarise the results of the varied influences which have been traced in the preceding pages. There is least difficulty in gauging them in regard to the industrial arts; it is clear that for the whole of our textile manufactures, for our shipping, for numberless improvements in mining, in the hardware trades and in agriculture, and for everything connected with the organization of business, we are deeply indebted to the alien immigrants. Their influence on other sides of life is less easy to assess and trace; but it is none the less real. It may suffice to say that all through the Middle Ages our isolated country was behind the rest of Europe in many ways, and that it has been through the agency of immigrants that we have been brought into contact with higher civilizations, and thus been enabled to learn from them.

It would seem that nations, like individuals, differ from one another in the methods by which they can most conveniently learn; one man takes in ideas by the eye from books, while another only understands what he hears verbally. There are nations which can perhaps appro-

prate schemes presented to them on paper, or imitate what is described to them by travellers, but Englishmen do not take in new ideas readily. The revival of learning had but little interest for Englishmen; the doctrines of Calvin did not appeal to them. It was only when practical exposition was given to new ideas, by men and colonies planted among us, that the stolid Englishmen could apprehend or adopt new methods or conceptions.

When we consider how much we have gained from aliens, we cannot but admire the calm sense of superiority which Englishmen have always exhibited towards their teachers. The insular contempt for the alien was remarked on by a Venetian ambassador long ago. "The English are great lovers of themselves and of everything belonging to them; they think that there are no other men than themselves, and no other world but England; and whenever they see a handsome foreigner, they say that 'he looks like an Englishman,' and that 'it is a pity that he should not be an Englishman'; and when they partake of any delicacy with a foreigner they ask him whether such a thing is made in *their* country?"¹ Englishman had a well-established reputation for conceit in this sixteenth century. An English traveller has recorded a conversation which he held with some Italians on this point when travelling in Italy. "Yea, but what meaneth it," said they, "that your

¹ *Italian Relation of England*, translated by A. Sneyd. *Camden Society*, vol. xxxvii. p. 21.

nation supporteth no strangers, as by daily proof it is right well seen? When an outlandish man passeth by, you call him whoreson knave, dog, and the like. This seemeth unto us a very barbarous part.' 'I shall tell you why,' said I; 'in times past, our nation hath practised as little abroad in strange countries as any nation of the world, and the commodities of our country are so great that the ignorant persons, seeing strangers resort unto them for traffic and, as it is true, for gain, imagined they came, not to buy their commodities, but to rob them, and that they who so used to traffic for lack of living in their own countries applied the merchandise of England as of necessity. But at this day it is all otherwise, for like as your merchants do practise in England, so our merchants do now traffic abroad, and by travel have attained such knowledge of civility that I warrant you those strangers who now repair into England are as well received, and seen, and as much made of as in any other kingdom of all Europe, especially in the Prince's Court, and among the nobles, where surely hath evermore been seen all honour and courtesy.'"¹ With all the modification that has taken place in opinion, there is very little change in the sentiment, half of pity and half of contempt, with which the alien immigrant is discussed to-day.

There is a general impression in the present day, when the alien question has once more become prominent in the Metropolis, that the matter may be treated as a *res*

¹ W. Thomas, *The Pilgrim* (edited Froude), p. 6.

judicata, and that, despite local jealousies, the advantages to the community as a whole, which accrue from permitting the immigration of aliens are established beyond dispute by the experience of the past. Personally I cannot feel that this opinion is justified. "History never repeats itself," and the experience of the past never enables us to predict with certainty the precise effect of some single factor in the future. Even when the experience of the past is looked at closely, it seems to me to be susceptible of another interpretation; it is at least arguable that we have already received most of the boons which alien influence has been able to confer upon us. The continental countries were once more advanced in political and industrial life of every kind; we had much to learn from them. There are departments of life, such as education, in which we do not come up to their standard, though some people may think that our own educational methods have been well adapted to the genius of our people; but there is no other side of social or political life in which we are obviously behindhand. At all events we have not much to gain from imitating the institutions of the Polish Jews.

In so far as industrial arts are concerned, this is abundantly true, but there is also another point to be considered. So long as manual dexterity was the chief factor in the production of goods, new arts could only be transferred and planted by the migration of persons who had the special skill that was requisite. But since the era of invention began, and since machine production has been substituted for manual labour in so many directions,

it is by the introduction of the newest machines, rather than by bringing skilled workmen, that an industry is maintained. For purposes of foreign competition manual skill is of far less importance than formerly; it was only those who had special skill, whose advent was an undoubted boon in bygone times; the unskilled labourer was a burden long ago, and it is not clear that he is a benefit now.

At the risk of appearing to be the victim of the haughty spirit in which Englishmen have in all ages depreciated aliens, I would yet urge that the alleged benefit of the immigration of any particular aliens in the present day should be discussed on its merits, and on them alone. In former times it could be generally stated what precise gift the Flemings, or Walloons, or Huguenots brought with them; and we may fairly ask of any new-comers in the present day, what it is that they are able to do better than we can ourselves? Unless this question can be clearly answered, there is not the same industrial justification for the admission of aliens as there was; that there may be advantages, in the elements of blood or character which they introduce, is true enough; though even if advantages cannot be specified, there ought to be hesitation on the part of a nation with a history like ours, in changing from welcoming aliens to refusing to admit them.

56. Just because the debt we owe to the alien immigrants in the past is so great, and affects so many sides of life, it may be worth while to note some of the factors in our progress which are our own, or at least, which were

not obviously borrowed from other shores ; there are important elements and characteristic features which we may in a way fairly claim as our very own.

It is hardly possible to overrate the important bearing which the physical character of our country has had on our history. It is perhaps most obvious in the economic and industrial sides of our story, but it has had constitutional and political importance as well. Our insular position has freed us from the dangers of foreign invasion ; England was saved from the burden of militarism, in various forms, from which France has continually suffered. Our position in the world, and our seaboard, has enabled us to obtain, not merely world-wide commerce, but a world-wide empire. The easy internal communications over the greater part of England have facilitated the growth of a single kingdom and rendered representative institutions more easy to work. To say that the greatness of England is due to her physical advantages would be an exaggeration, but to say that physical conditions have determined the direction in which her children were destined to attain a great place in the world is true enough. The alien may have helped us to benefit by these physical conditions, but he did not bestow them.

We may fairly say, too, that Englishmen did not borrow from aliens that which no aliens had attained. In the early development of national unity and of national policy, England stands alone among the nations of Europe.¹

¹ The importance of this element in the progress of England

With the one exception of London, her cities did not rival the great municipalities of continental Europe; but the towns and their interests were in consequence less severed from rural life. The rise of nationality in England is long anterior to the similar changes in France, or Italy, or Germany; and the elements of a definite system of economic policy can be traced as early as the time of Richard II.

If, as befitted a maritime realm, navigation and commerce were in the forefront, industry was never forgotten and agriculture was carefully fostered. The agricultural legislation of England seems to be almost wholly special to this country, not merely because it was not obviously borrowed from other lands, but because it has found few, if any, imitators.

Even the elements which were introduced from abroad have been sometimes transformed till they came to be practically new. The first capitalist companies, like the Grocers, were in all probability closely connected in their origin with the types of organization common among the Italian merchants whom they superseded; and yet three centuries later the system of company-trading had developed into a peculiarly English institution. The opportunity it gave for men to associate for common enterprise was very important. The companies came to be monopolies, and interposed a check to the energy of individuals; but it is none the less true that they had formed the nurseries

and retrogression of Germany is fully brought out by Ehrenberg, *Hamburg und England* (1896), pp. 12, 85.

of individual enterprise at an earlier time. The need for individual self-reliance and energy, the power of association for common objects, were both called into play in the earlier history of the Merchant Companies; these qualities have stood English traders in good stead; and the forms of trading organization, which were early developed and which were common in England in the eighteenth century, have given the greatest possible facilities for utilising capital in business.

The isolation of our country and the character of our people have been so marked, that we have been able to receive all sorts of strangers from abroad and to assimilate them; they have not remained as separate elements, or only for a brief period, as the duration of cities and communities goes; they have been absorbed into our national life. The powers and skill aliens brought us, and the institutions they planted, have grown with our growth and have long since ceased to betray their origin; with all our prejudices, we have been ready to adopt and adapt what experience showed us was practically advantageous.

Nor is it altogether fanciful to say that the attitude we have assumed, toward the aliens who visited our shores, has its counterpart in the line we are apt to take in dealing with alien races, who have come under our rule. The haughty pity, which the free Englishman has always felt for the oppressed, is curiously blended with the assumption that others should be ready to adopt at once what we have proved by experience to be good for ourselves. None the less is it true that England, which has been the refuge of the oppressed in the past, has come

to be the mother of free states throughout the world, and the guardian of peoples who, though yet in tutelage, are learning under her guidance to live their own lives in a better way.

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